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Yugoslavia

Bosnia-Hercegovina—Vice President Ejub Ganic sent a letter to the UN secretary general stating that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina "is seriously deteriorating," Sarajevo radio reports. Ganic alleges that the Serbian Democratic Party has perpetrated "actions of a terrorist nature" and "is forming parallel institutions" in an attempt to prevent "legal organs of power" from functioning. The letter requests that "military observers of the UN Protection Force be deployed" in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Belgrade radio reports that "a festive session of the Assembly of the Serbian people promulgated the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina." Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, cited the Party of Democratic Action announcement that it has abandoned the agreement reached in Sarajevo, and specifically Izetbegovic's comment that he will not "vote in favor of the agreement which he accepted in Sarajevo." This, Krajisnik claims, has created "total mistrust among our people" and as a result "the joint organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina have lost the last vestiges of objectivity."

Federal—TANJUG reports that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense issued a statement "on the situation in the country." It states that "events in Bosnia-Hercegovina are taking a dramatic turn. The armed formations of the Republic of Croatia have been conducting open aggression and, together with paramilitary formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, are attacking the Serbian population and, by perpetrating mass crimes, are trying to expel it from certain areas." The statement points out that "the scope for restrained behavior is being exhausted" and reaffirms the Yugoslav People's Army's readiness to assist in the "speedy and well-organized reception of the UN peacekeeping forces."

Romania

The National Salvation Front's Third National Convention was held amid "a vivid and polemic atmosphere," Bucharest radio reports. The Front is assessing the Petre Roman government's performance, the "serious political and credibility crisis" the party is going through, and the motions to be presented which "threated to divide the Front into three camps," ROMPRES reports. The "Future Today" faction of the party, represented by Petre Roman, "won a comfortable majority" of votes among deputies. However, "debates were stormy, with certain vehement accents" from the various factions. In a statement to Bucharest radio Roman states: "We can now proceed—from the state of legality, which we have achieved through the process of reform..." This "makes a true, clean, and clear-cut break with the past, opting for change," according to Roman.

Albania

The second round of the 22 March legislative elections were held on 29 March in the 11 constituencies where candidates did not win enough votes to become elected deputies, Tirana radio reports. Democratic Party (PD) Spokesman Bashkim Shala told AFP that the PD has won all of the 11 seats in the runoff election, and 92 of the 140 seats in the People's Assembly..." The Socialist Party reportedly won 38 seats. The remaining seats will go to the following parties: Social Democratic Party, seven; Union of Human Rights, two; and the Republican Party, one. According to Tirana radio, "participation was high, with 90.35 percent... of the two million registered voters casting their ballot." At an election rally in Shijak, Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha told the audience that the first undertakings of the new government will be to "re-establish public order and calm" and at the first new People's Assembly session to be held on 4 April "to start the procedure for revoking the mandate of President Ramiz Alia..." At a meeting of the Socialist Party (SP) Steering Committe in Tirana following the elections participants decided to hold meetings "to make possible a full and all-sided analysis" of the "new position of the party" and its "transition" into the opposition.

Alia Issues Decree To Open Assembly Session

AU2703165092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Decree issued by President Alia in Tirana on 27 March]

[Text] On the basis of Article 28 of Law No. 7491 dated 29 April 1991, On the Main Constitutional Provisions, I decree that the first session of the 13th Legislature of the People's Assembly will be summoned at 0900 GMT on 4 April. The decree comes into effect immediately.

Constituencies Hold 2d Round of 22 Mar Elections

Tirana Radio Names Candidates

AU2903133192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] On the basis of the Electoral Law, the second round of the 22 March elections will be held tomorrow in all the polling stations of the 11 constituencies in which the parliamentary candidates did not win a sufficient number of votes to be elected deputies. The candidates who are running are representatives of the Democratic Party [PD], which won successfully on 22 March, and of the Socialist Party [PSSh], which on 22 March managed to win only six seats in the future parliament by only a slight margin.

The candidates who are running are:

In Constituency No. 4 in Berat: Peri Dishnica, PD, and Xhemal Dauti, PSSh. The latter won 1.52 percent more of the votes than the former.

In Constituency No. 19 in Elbasan: Gaqo Rrota, PD, and Ndricim Hysa, PSSh. The former won by a margin of 1.77 percent.

In Constituency No. 31 in Gjirokaster: Genc Ruli, PD, and Leontiev Cuci, PSSh. In the first round, Ruli won 4.9 percent more of the votes than his rival.

In Constituency No. 36 in Kolonje: Sotir Kokeri, PSSh, and Uran Butka, PD. In the first round, the latter won by a slightly greater margin in the percentage of votes, only 0.02 percent.

In Constituency Nos. 52 and 53 in Librazhd: Qemal Alla, PSSh, and Fatos Zharri, PSSh, will run against Pellumb Malaj, PD, and Kurt Xhepa, PD, respectively. In the first round, Alla won 3.59 percent of the votes more than his opponent, whereas Xhepa won 1.37 percent more.

In Permet: Ethem Kolleshi, PSSh, who gained 46.72 percent of the votes in the first round and Vasil Gjika, PD, who gained 42.81 percent.

In Constituency No. 67 in Sarande: Gramoz Ruci, PSSh, with 4.595 percent of the votes gained in the first round, is running against Ritvan Peshkepia, PD, with 5.047 percent of the votes.

In Constituency No. 68 in Sarande: Leka Toto, PD, with 46.83 percent in the first round, and Limoz Dizdari, PSSh, with 25.91 percent.

In Constituency No. 80 in Tepelene: Blerim Cela, PD, and Ethem Ruka, PSSh. The first round's margin was only 7.19 percent in favor of PD's the candidate.

In Constituency No. 81 in Tepelene: Xhafer Ruci, PSSh, with 3.99 percent more than the PD's candidate, Sadik Bejko.

Democrats Gain All 11 Seats

AU3003124292 Paris AFP in English 1206 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (AFP)—Albania's opposition Democratic Party ended the communists' 45-year hold on power here by sweeping nearly two-thirds of the seats in parliament, Democratic Party spokesman Bashkim Shala told AFP Monday [30 March]. He said the Democrats took 92 of the 140 seats, quoting the party's final results—which have not yet been officially confirmed—after the second-round ballot Sunday [29 March].

The communists, now renamed the Socialist Party, took 38 seats, though only six were won in the majority vote, according to Shala's results. The other 32 were allotted from a total 40 seats filled on a proportional representation basis after Sunday's vote—a system aimed at softening the Socialists' defeat. The Democrats came out only two seats short of an absolute two-thirds majority. But Sala said "We can count on the support of other opposition deputies" from the Social Democratic and Republican parties. He said the Democrats took all 11 seats in Sunday's run-off polls that neither the Democrats nor the Socialists had won outright during the first round of voting on March 22. The Democrats also won two further seats under the proportional system.

It was only Albania's second free election since World War II. The communists held on to power in the first free vote last April as the economy in Europe's poorest country continued to plunge, sparking food riots, labor strikes and the flight of thousands.

The Democrats, who had been tipped to win, were already assured of victory last week after taking 79 of the 100 seats contested by majority vote. Thousands of supporters poured into the streets after the first round to hear Democratic Party leader Sari Berisha proclaim that Albania had once and for all "said good-bye to communism". The rest of parliament will be made up by seven Social Democratic deputies, two from the Greek-minority Union of Human Rights, and one Republican Party deputy, according to the final results announced by the Democrats Monday [30 March]. The Democrats were already planning a victory rally with Berisha later

Monday in Vlora, 130 kilometers (81 miles), where one of its founders, the economist Gramoz Pashko, was elected.

Berisha told a rally in Shijak, west of here, Sunday that one of the first tasks of his government would be to "re-establish public order and calm", after the riots and violence that has wracked Albania in recent months. In all, the Democrats took 65.7 percent of the vote, according to the party spokesman. Tirana radio said participation was high, with 90.35 percent, or 1,826,000 of the two million registered voters casting their ballot.

For the minor opposition parties, the Social Democrats took one seat by majority vote and six under the proportional system, though the Greek minority and the Republican parties obtained none of the 40 proportional seats.

The new parliament is to hold its inaugural session on Saturday [4 April]. Sources in the Democratic Party said one of its primary taks will be to start the procedure for revoking the mandate of President Ramiz Alia, who was elected by parliament last year to a five-year term. Alia succeeded long-time Stalinist dictator Enver Hoxha on his death in 1985 but was forced to introduce reforms after surviving a partial revolution in 1990.

The Democratic Party will inherit a country on the brink of collapse, where the annual income averages 550 dollars. Industrial production has slumped more than 50 percent and 70 percent of laborers have been laid off. Berisha said Sunday he was "not afraid" of the difficult economic situation, certain that "a people who overthrew communism" would triumph and "move towards Europe", according to the ATA news agency here.

Berisha Speaks at Gjirokaster Rally

AU2703140692 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 27 (ATA)—On the occasion of the victory of the Democratic Party in March 22 elections, the branch of this party for Gjirokaster District organised on March 26 a rally in which took part thousands of people.

In his speech, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha said, among other things, that as everywhere in Albania, in March 22 elections, democracy won. With your democratic spirit, he went on, you voted for your children, for Albania. The Democratic Party, he said, hopes in you. Just as you destroyed the dictatorship, so you will work for the building of democracy. You must show this greatness of your spirit also in the construction of the democratic society. I remind you, he said, that now we must fight the remains of the communist dictatorship. Our thousand-years-old spirit is capable to throw away these communist customs very soon, therefore I invite all of you to replace the hatred, which poses the greatest danger of democracy with the love for each other. We are all brothers, despite the convictions. Patriotism and communism do not reconcile with each other, therefore let us unite around the national ideal, the Albanian flag. With the minority people, Mr. Berisha said, we are brothers. We guarantee that they will enjoy all the human rights and freedoms.

Likewise, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha attended also the rallies the Democratic Party branches of the cities of Permet and Tepelene, and of the Progonat village organised on the occasion of the victory of the Democratic Party in March 22 elections.

Berisha Participates in Mine Gathering

AU2903084092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Our correspondent Timo Luto has reported on a rally held at the mine of Valias this morning to celebrate the Democratic Party [PD] victory in the 22 March elections. Before the rally began, the Miners Independent Trade Union leaders and mine officials held a short meeting with leaders from the PD, the Republican Party, and the Social Democratic Party at the mine director's office.

The arrival of PD Chairman Sali Berisha and of the two other opposition parties' leaders was welcomed with much enthusiasm.

Sami Kariqi, chairman of the Miners Independent Trade Union for Valias, opened the rally.

Gezim Kalaja, chairman of the Joint Independent Trade Union of the Albanian Miners, Geologists, and Processors, then spoke. In his speech, he pointed out the role played by the miners to further accelerate the democratic processes beginning from the first support they gave to the students' movement. He later spoke about the great and special role of the PD, of its chairman Sali Berisha, and of Azem Hajdari, among others. The victory of 22 March, he said, is the greatest victory our people have scored in their long road toward freedom, democracy, prosperity, and national dignity. We are confident in the PD, he concluded, that after this victory and with our support it will bring the aspirations of our long suffering people to life.

The greeting of the PD chairman, Professor Dr. Sali Berisha, was received with enthusiasm. Congratulations on victory, celebration, and democracy—that was how he began his greeting speech. The sons of Kavaje and Shkoder, the students, and you miners who will never be forgotten by the Albanian nation are the heroes of this victory, the heroes of democracy. Your solidarity with the students consolidated the victory of democracy; your solidarity with the students was the body and soul unity of the democratic forces. The locking in hunger strike of students and miners brought forth the death of communism. You made the greatest sacrifice, but came out victorious. The victory of democracy, he continued, has its roots in the galleries of your mine, in your soul, in

your determined fight. He then spoke about the democratic spirit of our people, which was revealed in the 22 March elections. The people turned this electoral campaign into electoral festivity. We must honor and be proud of this people.

Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo then greeted the rally. He said that the miners of Valias are absolutely right to celebrate the victory of democracy. It was you who forced the two governments to kneel.

Social Democratic Party's Chairman Skender Gjinushi stressed the great importance of the binomial student-miner in the fight for democracy and its victory. Our victory, he said, has a special value, because it is a victory over the most dictatorial system in Eastern Europe.

The road toward peaceful victory, Azem Hajdari said, shows that our people are educated. Your great contribution in the victory of democracy gives you the right to ask us tomorrow about what the program of our party promised you.

The French ambassador, Mr. Michelle Bonnaire, and the first secretary of the Greek embassy, Mr. Kanellos, also took part.

Berisha Addresses Shijak Meeting

AU2903181192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Our Durres correspondent reports that the Democratic Party [PD] organized a rally in celebration of its 22 March election victory in the main square of the town of Shijak this morning.

Thousands of townspeople, inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and members and supporters of the PD took part. Engineer Mimoza Metalla, member of the presidium of the PD's Shijak sub-branch, opened the rally.

Amid cheers, PD Chairman Sali Berisha mounted the rostrum. He said among other things that we banished communism in the 22 March elections like no other people of East Europe, because no Albanian has ever been able to endure dictatorship. In these days, the Albanian people have waged one of their most important historic battles, that between Albanianness and communism. The PD promises you that the future government will govern the country with honesty and openness and will maintain its popular character. One of the most important tasks of the new government will be to establish public order and calm. This will be achieved with your blessing and that of God. The PD, when in power, will guarantee the rights and freedoms of man and the entire Albanian nation. We came to power in a difficult economic period, but we are not afraid, because we, a people that overthrew communism, will achieve our program, will triumph, and will advance toward Europe.

Eduard Selami, PD secretary, and Azem Hajdari, PD deputy chairman and deputy for Shijak, also spoke. Hajdari was given his mandate as deputy. Distinguished actors Mirush Kabashi and Fadil Hasa greeted the rally and performed humorous sketches.

RP's Godo Holds News Conference

AU2803171692 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 28 (ATA)—The chairman of the Albanian Republican Party [RP], Sabri Godo gave a press conference for the local and foreign journalists on March 27.

At the beginning, Mr. Sabri Godo said that the March 22 victory is a unique event in Albania's history. The RP conveys a special greeting to the Democratic Party, because during the last 15 months we have been close to each other, we have fought for the same goal, and have pursued the same strategy for the collapse of communism, the establishment of human rights, and Albania's embarkment on the road of the civilised peoples. Then, he said that as a party, we have decided to regenerate leadership in all levels and will define a practice and strategy conform the new conditions. Mr. Godo pointed out that communism was subdued, but it is not yet eradicated, therefore the struggle in this respect cannot be considered over. At the same time, we shall focus our efforts, with a more republican profile in order to be more constructive in the coming developments of democracy. Likewise, he said that each of the political forces will promote its ideas. We as republicans will never forget that with regard to many questions related to the major all-people interests, we should be united. First of all, he said, we point out the establishment of the rule of law, the resumption of work and the defence of the nation from foreign dangers.

Then, Mr. Sabri Godo responded to the questions of the journalists. To the question related to the opinion of the RP on the national unity and conciliation assembly in the new conditions, he said that we are for national unity and conciliation, but first, we should know who are the initiators and what are the goals that should be attained. Then, the RP will be ready to cooperate. To the question who might be the foreign allies of Albania in the future, he responded that these are the United States and the European Community, and added that within the European Community, the German and Italian peoples that have shown a greater care to Albania. Therefore, he said, we should be orientated towards those countries, which show care towards us. Will you change the tactics in the future, was another question, to which he said that we will abide by our programme and in compliance with the new events will change our tactics, too. Finally, the congress of the RP to be held this year will decide about this. Likewise, Mr. Godo responded also to other questions related to the loss of the RP in the March 22 elections, the coalition with the other political parties, the compensation of the former land owners, etc.

Deputy Minister Assesses Elections

AU2703201492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Interview with Public Order Deputy Minister Robert Gjylameti by Iljaz Spahiu in Tirana on 27 March—recorded]

[Text] [Spahiu] One of the most acute problems our country has undergone during the entire transitory period has been that of public order. To inform us on the situation of public order after the 22 March elections, we have here Mr. Robert Gjylameti, deputy minister of public order.

[Gjylameti] It is a well-known fact that the pre-election phenomena were characterized by violations of public order en masse, by destruction, and a wide variety of phenomena that were unusual for Albania, the cities, and the people. At present, we see another picture. People seem to be calm, more liberated, and they breathe freely now, in the sense that they do not have any of the problems encountered before 22 March. The forces of order seem to be more active in carrying out their task. People are waiting. We hope that their waiting is in favor of all those who wish the democratic processes to continue successfully in Albania. We hope to restore the calm to the people and to act more strongly and courageously with regard to everyone who is attempting to break the laws and to disturb the calm of our citizens' lives.

[Spahiu] As you said, calm and the establishment of order is being observed during the week after the elections, not only in Tirana, but also in the other districts.

[Gjylameti] I would treat two aspects of this. First, the citizens themselves by their behaviour and stand are the ones who have changed something in maintaining the public order of all the cities', streets, and other inhabited areas. Second, I can not leave without mentioning the work done by police forces to strongly react toward the premeditated acts of the extremist elements. I think the latter is a phenomena that is strongly backed up by the working people today.

[Spahiu] Thank you, and we hope that what you said, i.e. the maintaining of order, will continue in the future too.

[Gjylameti] I thank you, too, and I would like to tell all the radio listeners to be completely confident that the forces of order will work tirelessly to reestablish calm for all citizens.

Nano Summons Socialist Party Steering Committee

AU2903163092 Tirana ATA in English 1019 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 27 (ATA)—The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT informs that under the chairmanship of Fatos Nano, the Steering Committee of the Socialist Party [SP] convened. Attending it were also candidates for deputies who competed in the March 22 elections. Dr. Servet Pellumbi, vice chairman of the SP, in the name of the Presidency, held the main report stressing some problems of the present political situation in the country and within the Socialist Party. The contributions in the meeting of the forum of the SP voiced the commitment for a higher qualitative activity of the party, considering through a critical eye its life and work for nine months. The compactness of the party and the increase of its ranks with other numerous members from the workers, youth, the peasants, and intellectuals is a first-rate important task for the grass-root organizations and the steering committees of the districts. The meeting decided that within the shortest possible period of time, working meetings and analysis should be organized in all the country, so that to make possible a full and all-sided analysis on the part of the Presidency and the Steering Committee of the SP, in regard with the new position of the party, its transition into opposition.

Fatos Nano draw the conclusions of the meeting of the Steering Committee of the SP.

National Miners Strike Ongoing; Talks To Continue

Dimitrov Explains Government Position

AU2703125892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1102 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] According to a BTA report, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov ended his meeting with the Gorubso miners' strike committee at 0100 GMT this morning. As our listeners already know, the leadership of the striking miners will continue their negotiations with the government in Sofia at 1400 GMT this afternoon.

On his arrival in Madan last night, Mr. Filip Dimitrov talked for almost an hour with the miners who were waiting for him. They insisted that the cabinet should find a solution to their problems. Mr. Dimitrov explained the government's position, pointing out that the mining of lead and zinc ores must be gradually phased out. At the same time, he said that the people remaining in the mines must be redirected to small enterprises. However, according to the prime minister it is impossible for the state to create these small enterprises at a stroke.

The decision to gradually close down ore mining was received by the miners with indignation. Mr. Dimitrov made no promise to pay out social assistance at the minimum wage rates. He admitted that at present the government cannot provide employment and money, because it has been well-known for a long time that the Gorubso complex is a bankrupt enterprise.

At his meeting with the representatives of the strike committee the prime minister discussed the possibility of creating a mining directorate. The issue of making payments within the limits of the minimum wage rates was not examined seriously, because the miners insisted on receiving money for the whole of the output that they had produced. The representatives of the Central Strike Committee insisted on the immediate resignation of Minister Ivan Pushkarov. It was mentioned at the meeting that the minister does have some sort of program, although still in rough form, through which it might be possible to achieve a solution to the problems.

The miners' representatives complained that they had received barely 500 leva in pay for the first three months of this year. At the same time, the prime minister's hosts pointed out that they did not want social tension in the region to increase, and strongly denied that the strike had any kind of political motive.

KNSB Ends 'Incipient' Negotiations

AU2703152592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] In a declaration to the Council of Ministers chairman the Strike Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] Federation of Miners, Metal Workers, Power Workers, and Geological Prospecting Personnel announced that today the federation broke up the incipient negotiations with the government considering that the representatives of the Ministry of Industry and Trade who came to participate in the talks are not authorized to adopt decisions.

In connection with the negotiations that were scheduled for today at 1400 GMT and were supposed to be held only with the miners of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, who represent only a small part of Bulgarian miners, the Strike Committee declared that it will not recognize any decisions without the participation of authorized representatives of the KNSB and insists on simultaneous or parallel negotiations.

If our demands are not satisfied, we are resolved to proceed with total strike actions of the entire branch, the declaration of the Strike Committee of the KNSB Federation of Miners, Metal Workers, Power Workers, and Geological Prospecting Personnel states.

Pernik Miners Join Strike Forces

AU2703152992 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] The miners in Pernik who are members of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation announced that they have been on strike since this morning in the following mines: Republika, Byala Voda, the central repair base, and the motor vehicle section. Orlin Khristoforov, chairman of the Pernik Mines Shareholder Society, expressed his approval of the strike. As an economic manager I can realize the extent of the damages that the strike is expected to cause. Nevertheless, I cannot help agreeing with the demands of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, he stated. The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgarian [KNSB] does not join the strike for the time being.

Independent Unions Show No Support

AU2703181892 Sofia BTA in English 1715 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—The government and the Podkrepa Miners Federation started negotiations late in the afternoon today, after last night the National Strike Committee declared effective strike without waiting for Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to come. Mr. Dimitrov arrived in the centre of miners' unrest, the town of Madan (southern Bulgaria), late at night where he met with the miners and had talks with the National Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Federation.

Today the Podkrepa Labour Confederation backed up the demands raised by the Miners Federation and called upon all members and structures of the confederation to support the strikers morally and financially. In the declaration signed by Podkrepa's Vice President Oleg Chulev, the Executive Council of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation states that it revokes its signature as a guarantor of the frame agreement that put an end to the

miners' strike of August 1991, because the government has not been observing the agreement.

The other influential trade union organization, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB), has not joined the strike. Ms. Diana Damyanova, CITUB's spokeswoman, told the BTA reporter that her trade union will wait for its miners, metallurgists, power engineers and prospectors federation to take a stand on the matter. The federation issued a declaration calling for negotiations with the government.

According to Ms. Damyanova the strikes are actually three. One is declared by the miners who have not received their wages for three months now. This problem can be solved, the trade union has information that in some mines the payment of wages has already begun. The miners threatened by unemployment as a result of the closure of uranium mining are also on strike. This problem arose from the ambiguity and indecision of three cabinets in a row, these people's struggle for bread is justified, Ms. Damyanova said. But the most alarming is the third strike, as it seems it has been declared definitely in support of the demand for the resignation of the minister of industry and trade, Ivan Pushkarov. In her opinion, if the effective strike assumes mass proportions, the miners will find themselves in the situation they were in last year—they came out winners without actually gaining anything from it.

The CITUB leadership has no information as to whether the confederation's members have gone on effective strike, but many mines are on the strike alert because of unpaid wages.

The CITUB will not support a nationwide strike, the confederation considers there are no motives for it.

There are not exact data about the number of strikers, but BTA's correspondents in the country report that the Podkrepa-affiliated miners in Pernik (near Sofia), in two pits at Dimitrovgrad and in Kurdzhali (southeastern Bulgaria) are on effective strike. It is reported that the situation is calm, there is good order and there are no women and children in the pits so far.

The workers at the petrochemical works at Burgas (on the Black Sea) today also threatened with strike. They expressed their concern over the aggravated problems of the combined works—the major producer of petrochemicals. They insist on a meeting personally with Prime Minister Dimitrov and if their problems are not solved in four days' time, they will go on effective strike, it is said in the declaration of the Petrochemical Workers Federation.

Dimitrov Consults With KNSB

AU2803164592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Petur Donchev report from the Council of Ministers in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Talks were due to open an hour ago at the Council of Ministers between Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Miners, Metalworkers, Power Workers, and Geological Surveyors. BTA was told this by the federation's representative, Ms. Popova. Whether these talks have indeed started, we will hear now from our trade union correspondent Petur Donchev, who is at the Council of Ministers.

[Donchev] I can definitely confirm that consultations, not negotiations, have taken place between the prime minister, his advisers, and a delegation of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Miners, Metalworkers, Power Workers, and Geological Surveyors. Immediately after he came out of the meeting, the responsible secretary, Mr. Aleksandur Kunev, stated: We decided on the priorities of the issues for discussion. The primeary issue is the payment of the miners' wages and the earnings that had not been paid. We also discussed the restructuring of the sector, provision of credits, ecological problems, and the social problems connected with restructuring. Moreover, the prime minister declared that parallel negotiations will be conducted on an equal-rights basis; that is, the talks with the miners trade union federation will continue this afternoon.

We journalists, however, are praying that the negotiations between the government and the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation, which are due to start any moment, will have a favorable outcome, with the signing of a document. However, at the moment it is difficult even to guess whether this will be the case. However, I wish to report this, and to remind those who are listening to me that late last night, after the talks ended, Engineer Dimitur Mladenov, chairman of the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation, declared: The strike is continuing, but without any escalation as long as talks go on. This is especially important for a favorable outcome of the talks, which I believe will not be easy. I hope that nonetheless they will find common points of contact.

Trenchev Sends Congratulatory Message

AU2803164892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Our correspondent Georgi Talev reports as follows on the situation in Madan.

Following the failure so far to reach agreement in the talks between the Central Strike Committee and the Council of Ministers, there is no change in the situation in the Madan mining basin. For the second day, work has stopped in all the mines of the Gorubso Joint Stock Company, at the truck division, and at the Rudozem Ore Concentration Plant. The miners are expecting hard words from the Council of Ministers, and in the meantime are making full use of their days off work for relaxation.

Informed persons on the Central Strike Committee reported that Dr. Konstantin Trenchev [president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation] sent a message of congratulation to the miners through the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation, saying that they must defend their rights well, without commenting on the strike. Dr. Trenchev, who as known is not in Bulgaria at the moment, also announced that he intends to return to Bulgaria at the beginning of next week, most likely on 31 March or 1 April. Our correspondent Georgi Talev presumes the Podkrepa president may visit the striking miners. Whether he will support them or scold them remains to be seen.

Miners Fail To Attend Government Talks

AU2903135792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Representatives of the Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Unions did not come to the meeting with the government, which was supposed to take place at 1100 GMT today. This was stated to our correspondent Petur Donchev by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. They also failed to show up at 1500 and 1530. This contradicts the miners' interests, Mr. Dimitrov said. According to him, the government has done everything possible to ensure payment of the wages that the miners had not received and has exhausted the possibilities of providing temporary financial aid for stirring production in the branch. Nevertheless, Mr. Dimitrov said, we could reach an agreement in prudent negotiations.

Government Issues Declaration

AU2903172292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] The government has issued a declaration on the miners strike. Mrs. Paulina Mikhaylova, adviser at the Press Center of the Council of Ministers, will read it:

[Mikhaylova] We express our deep concern over the failure of the Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners' Federation to show up for the talks with the government. The Strike Committee's approval of the government's proposals is insufficient. The 946 million leva given by the beginning of the year to the miners, the temporary financial aid, and the guarantees for the credits have fully exhausted the legal possibilities of assisting uranium and ore production. Therefore, now it will be possible to pay the wages only if production is restructured. The law forbids conducting the restructuring under conditions of a strike. The continuation of the strike prevents the government from finding the necessary amount of money. If the strike continues after 30 March, production in the nonferrous metallurgy sector will also stop. This will inflict the companies with additional significant losses and new debts. Soon they will not be able to pay wages and this will harm the miners and other employees of the branch.

The miners' interests will be greatly hurt if the Strike Committee does not immediately begin work on the programs presented by the government. The efficiency of the governmental program cannot be questioned until it is put into effect. We think that it is necessary that by the morning of 30 March, at the latest, the procedure on the work on the social program should be adopted. The discussion of the disputed sites that have been earmarked for closing must begin immediately and the strike must stop. Thus it will be possible to pay the miners' wages.

Demands for resignations of ministers, changing the manner of exercising political power, and other political demands cannot be a topic of discussion. Posing such demands and preparing for nationwide strike actions will not resolve the problems of the miners, contradicts the nation's interests, and will only increase social tension.

Dimitrov: Government Ready To Negotiate

AU2903173392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] After the publication of the governmental declaration on the miners' strike Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov made a statement for the journalists, among whom was our trade union correspondent Petur Donchev. This is how the prime minister answered the question about the government's readiness to negotiate again tomorrow with the miners:

[Begin Dimitrov recording] We are ready to negotiate, because we want to resolve the problem. We have repeatedly declared this. You saw that in the final analysis our proposals were adopted by the representatives of the Strike Committee. However, after that, today's meeting with them did not take place. Naturally, we will not discuss political demands. This is a completely different issue. The miners issued a declaration in which doubts are expressed in connection with the efficiency of a governmental commission. W ll, how could one decide whether the commission is efficient if it, as you can see, cannot even be created.

Tomorrow at 0500 GMT we will be ready again to sit and discuss the procedure of the commission's work and naturally, the end of the strike, so that the wages can be paid. You saw that the representatives of the Strike Committee did not come at 1400 or 1500. Afterward they called and said that they have reasons that prevented them from coming. We accepted their proposal to meet tomorrow at 0800. Let us hope that they will come. [end recording]

Miners Decide To Continue Strike

AU2903174292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Our correspondent Georgi Talev reports from Madan on the activities of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation after the 28 March talks at the Council of Ministers.

[Begin Talev recording] I would like to begin by saying that the miners were firmly convinced that things would develop precisely as they did. They are categorically determined not to retreat from their demands. This was expressed early this morning in a declaration issued after an all-night meeting of the Strike Committee. The declaration has several points that are motivated by what the miners call iron logic. They rejects the statement of Prime Minister Dimitrov made in the earlier hours of the afternoon. The striking miners are firmly determined to defend their rights. I will refrain from commenting on their demands. However, I will quote some of them, I mean the first and third points of their declaration.

The declaration is a result of the previous talks between the striking miners and the Council of Ministers. The talks and their results prove that the problems could be resolved within a reasonable period of time. However, we note that there was a deliberate postponement in order to provoke the dissatisfaction of the miners, the first point of the declaration reads.

The third point states: The Ministry of Industry and Trade needed seven months in order to produce a program on developing the branch. Therefore, we think that it is illogical to think that it will be possible to further develop the program within two weeks. The aim is simply to postpone the problems rather than resolve them. I will not quote the rest of the declaration. The strike will continue until the miners' demands listed in the framework and branch agreements are met.

In conclusion I would like to report that the miners' collectives in Gorubso have approved the decision to continue the strike. Many other collectives throughout the country also have called the Strike Committee and expressed their approval. Otherwise, the situation is calm. [end recording]

Chulev, Kostov Assess Situation

AU2903192592 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov described the decision of the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Federation to carry on the national strike action after an agreement was reached after two-day negotiations last night as "inconsistent with the miners' interests." [passage omitted]

The decision to carry on the strike action was commented this morning by Podkrepa Vice President Oleg Chulev and Finance Minister Ivan Kostov on national radio. Mr. Chulev insisted that the government meet its obligations under the framework and the branch agreement. Without formulating a specific demand for personnel changes, he said that it is the business of the government rather than the miners to held to account those responsible for the collapse of the framework agreement. Decisionmakers in the ministry have been occupying positions of responsibility with three or four governments now, Mr. Chulev said.

Mr. Kostov blamed the Central Strike Committee for urging miners to strike beyond their wage demands. If the strike escalates into a conflict, it will be the miners and not the leaders of Podkrepa or the Central Strike Committee that stand to lose. Miners will have to give up what the government is in a position to give them by stretching the law, the finance minister said.

Government, Miners Debate Proposals

AU3003103792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Text] Our correspondent Petur Donchev, who is following developments in the talks between the striking miners and the government, reports from the Council of Ministers:

[Donchev] The talks continued this morning for about three hours and fifteen minutes. The representatives of the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation withdrew to discuss for the last time the proposals they had heard during the talks.

What were the topics of the talks? They involved the payment of wages; the establishment of a working group of representatives of the Council of Ministers, employees, and the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union Federation, which should present within two weeks the necessary economic arguments for the effectiveness of the concept drawn up by the Ministry of Industry and Trade, as well as the long-range concept for this branch; and the establishment of a working group of representatives of the Council of Ministers, employees, and the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation to prepare a package of documents to resolve outstanding issues of the framework and branch agreements, which indeed led to the strike.

There is something interesting: Before adopting measures on implementing measures with foreign companies, the government will have to be informed whether or not the relevant foreign company is the subject of a complaint for violation of workers' trade union rights within the framework of protection of human rights.

I will not list all the issues discussed. However, it was suggested that eventually the prime minister will supervise the activity of all agencies and persons connected with the ore mining branch. If irregularities or violations are noted, they must be eliminated and the culprits sanctioned. A new agreement will be signed if complete agreement is reached. This is all I can say on this subject.

Another thing that was accomplished—at today's talks it was decided to set up a working group to prepare by 7 April the statute of the National Council on Social Partnership; the group is made up of Vekil Vanov, minister of labor and social welfare; Khristo Pamukchiev, executive secretary of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria; Stamen Krivoshiev, Podkrepa's confederative secretary; Dimo Dimchev from Vuzrazhdane Union; Georgi Shivarov

from the Bulgarian Economic Chamber; and Lora Yosifova from the Alternative-2000 Union. The first session of this working group will take place 31 March at the Council of Ministers. The talks will continue this afternoon.

Miners Threatening Hunger Strike

AU3003104492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Correspondent Georgi Talev report from Madan]

[Text] Early this morning the square in front of the Gorubso Shareholders Association administration building was filled with miners and their wives and children. They heard the declaration of the Central Strike Committee, which is being discussed at the talks with the representatives of the government. Afterward, the crowd remained in the square. They are waiting for news about the talks with the government. If they are not happy with the results, they will take the following steps: groups of miners will enter the mines with their wives and children and will begin a hunger strike.

Radoslav Kulev, representative of the Central Strike Committee, is doing everything possible to prevent this, our reporter says. The Central Strike Committee in Madan faxed the text of the declaration to the leadership of the Podkrepa Trade Union at the Nonferrous Metals Combine in Plovdiv. The workers will discuss it and then begin effective strike action.

Podkrepa National Trade Union Opens Congress

Secretary's Speech Debated

AU2903085692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] The Podkrepa National Trade Union opened its first regular national congress in Ruse today. In his introductory speech, Responsible Secretary Plamen Darakchiev defined the organization as one supporting the program of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. I hope, he said, that we will not choose the path chosen by the miners who are now on strike, that is, we will not seek to gain temporary dividends and, in so doing, cause the failure of everything that has been accomplished since 13 October 1991.

On the first day of the congress, which is being attended by 321 delegates from throughout the country, the participants held a debate on Mr. Darakchiev's speech and passed a proposed union agreement on its first reading. According to this document, the Podkrepa National Trade Union will be a voluntary association of independent trade union formations that possess autonomous statutes, programs, and constituent documents, and organizational, financial and juridical independence.

The congress continues tomorrow.

Trade Union Activity Protested

AU2903193092 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] On 29 March in Ruse the First Congress of the Podkrepa National Trade Union continued with the adoption of a statute and resolutions on social issues, unemployment, and trade union pluralism.

In a special declaration the delegates expressed their protest against restrictions of trade union activity that have been imposed in the cooperatives and what they view as the passive position of the government regarding the Bulgarian trawler that has been detained in Guinea. The delegates supported the demands of the striking workers in the Belene (?Boteks) enterprise.

In connection with the disputed name of the trade union, the delegates addressed a declaration to the Second Regional Court in Sofia in which they describe the case that is being reviewed by the court as a violation of the ILO 1948 and 1949 conventions.

Dienstbier Assesses Problems of U.S. Investment

LD2903092192 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1130 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Report by Ivan Stupcuk on Civic Movement news conference]

[Text] At the beginning of the news conference, Civic Movement [CM] Chairman Jiri Dienstbier assessed the results of his visit to the United States and Finland. Concerning U.S. investment in our country, Jiri Dienstbier said that there are two negative factors slowing down the process. The first is an American problem: the U.S. Government is not creating as good conditions for the entry of U.S. capital to our market as governments of West European countries. The second problem, according to Jiri Dienstbier, is a Czech problem: the slow reaction of our ministries and enterprise management to proposals from the U.S. side.

The next, and main topic, at today's news conference was that of settling accounts with the past. Tomas Sokol, a member of the CM Republican Council, divided this issue into two parts: the problem of those who were hurt and persecuted, and the problem of punishing the guilty ones.

CM Deputy Chairman Jan Sokol then briefed journalists on talks held in Slovakia on Wednesday with representatives of some political parties.

Liechtenstein Disputed Lands Talks Possible

LD2903134192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Today, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CSTK that Czechoslovakia is prepared to negotiate with Liechtenstein over land confiscated from the Liechtenstein monarchs in 1918. Minister Dienstbier thinks that although Liechtenstein threatened that it would not ratify the free trade agreement between Czechoslovakia and the European Free Trade Association until it got back the land it demanded, this threat will not destroy the free trade agreement. Jiri Dienstbier stated that the land had been confiscated from the monarchs after World War I, and under our legislation on restitution it is not possible to claim property confiscated before 25 February 1948. This means there is no right to make such a claim, Jiri Dienstbier stressed.

Danube Dam Accord Said Unbreakable

AU2703135592 Prague CSTK in English 0843 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Bratislava— The 1977 Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Danube dam project cannot be terminated, Ludek Krajhanzl, deputy director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's International Legislative Department, says in today's Slovak daily NARODNA OBRODA. Under international law an agreement without provisions for its termination—and this is the case of the above-mentioned agreement—cannot be terminated, Krajhanzl says. He reacts to reports from Hungary that the Hungarian Government has been empowered by parliament to terminate the agreement unless Czechoslovakia stops work on its side of the water project by April 30. "If the Hungarian Government does terminate the 1977 agreement, Czechoslovakia will probably reject this act and the (agreement's) legal status will remain unchanged," Krajhanzl says. [passage omitted]

EC Commission on Narcotics Holds Talks

AU2703150592 Prague CSTK in English 2051 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 24 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and chairman of the Government Narcotics Commission Jozef Miklosko today received European Community (EC) experts who arrived here to discuss a joint course of action in solving problems of drug addiction. The employees of the Brussels-based General Management for Foreign Relations focused attention on issues concerning drug-addiction prevention, drug trafficking via Czechoslovakia, and control over narcotics. Tomorrow, the EC delegation will visit Slovakia.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 26 March on page 2 carries a 250-word CSTK report on the EC experts' talks in Slovakia. According to the report, they told Martin Demes, first Slovak deputy minister of health, that "up to 80 percent of the drugs reaching EC states come through Czechoslovak territory." They also "voiced the fear" that the CSFR might be used to "launder dirty money."]

ODS Urges Policy Orientation Change Toward West

AU2703150792 Prague CSTK in English 1224 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 25 (CSTK)— "We (Czechoslovakia) have to turn unequivocally towards the West and cease to pretend to be a bridge between the West and the East. It leads nowhere," Jozef Zieleniec, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), says in an interview in today's daily RUDE PRAVO. The right-wing ODS headed by Vaclav Klaus, Czechoslovak finance minister and the architect of Czechoslovakia's radical economic reforms, is the strongest party in the Czech Republic, favored by some 20 per cent of voters.

"However, to enter Europe is not only a joy, but also a pain.... We have to work out such a time-table that will facilitate joining the European Community without major shocks," says Zieleniec. Asked whether economic reforms are socially bearable, Zieleniec says "many people do not realize the inseparable relation between personal freedom, human rights, and a market economy and private ownership. We would like to enjoy advantages of the former without being exposed to the inconveniences of the latter. The English say: You cannot have your cake and eat it," says Zieleniec.

On potential coalition partners (after the June 5-6 general elections), Zieleniec says "we are able to accept anyone except for the Communist Party." Commenting on public fears that Czechoslovakia will get under strong German influence, Zieleniec says "this region has always been under potential German influence." "If we find our place (in the arising European union), our trauma resulting from German neighborhood will be largely solved.... Therefore we should do our best to join the European state as soon as possible. But we have to be on good terms with Germany. Against its will, we will not be able to become part of Europe," Zieleniec concludes.

CDA Officials Hold News Conference

LD2903091592 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 27 Mar 92

[Text] A regular Friday news conference of the Civic Democratic Alliance [CDA] was held today. Katerina Kasparova reports:

[Kasparova] At the very beginning of the briefing a new member and CDA candidate was introduced to journalists. He is Jiri Krizan, until now an assistant to President Vaclav Havel. He said that because he is to stand as a candidate, he is leaving his post in the president's office today. His employment there will terminate on 1 April.

CDA representatives then gave their views on some topical issues. Vladimir Dlouhy, federal minister of economy, briefed journalists on talks on the draft bill on sales of apartments to private individuals. CDA Deputy Chairman Daniel Kroupa spoke about the planned meeting with representatives of the Civic Democratic Party to discuss two main issues: an agreement on strategy for the democratic forces in the election campaign, and the possibility of a post-election coalition. Daniel Kroupa stressed that the CDA is not interested in Vladimir Meciar's movement [Movement for Democratic Slovakia] becoming a member of this coalition.

Concerning the statement made by Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [CDM], on the possibility of cooperation with Czech right-wing parties, Daniel Kroupa said the CDM has not yet given a clear signal about a significant change of its view on the issue of our state set-up. Jan Kalvoda, first deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, said that the CDM is still not able not to cast doubts on the will to preserve a common state.

HZDS Said Victim of Antinational 'Campaign'

AU2703150992 Prague CSTK in English 1616 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 25 (CSTK)— The "Doctor" case is a pre-election campaign intentionally aimed at discouraging potential voters for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the June 5-6 parliamentary elections, HZDS Deputy Chairman Milan Knazko told reporters today. He said the case is a campaign against the movement, the strongest opposition in Slovakia, favoring a Slovak constitution and president.

According to a report submitted to the Slovak parliament on Tuesday, HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar was registered in secret police (StB) files under No. 31 048 as a secret StB collaborator under the code-name "Doctor." Knazko said the HZDS will publish an official statement on the report of the Slovak parliamentary Defense and Security Committee after it thoroughly examines and analyses the report.

The HZDS congress, on March 21-22 in Zilina, Central Slovakia, was held behind closed doors because the movement had a justified suspicion that members of the Federal Information Service (FIS) would be there, Knazko said. "It is the same as it was in the past," he added. "They are searching again for an internal enemy.... We are the internal enemies, named 'Slovak extremists,'" Knazko said. He added he is convinced he will soon be able to present evidence backing up his statements.

Meciar Investigator Accused of Violating Law

AU2703151192 Prague CSTK in English 1914 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 25 (CSTK)— The Slovak parliamentary group for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today lodged a complaint against the parliament Defense and Security Committee chairman for abuse of power by a public official, said a HZDS statement presented today to CSTK. The document said that committee chairman Frantisek Javorsky screened HZDS leader Vladimir Meciar despite that he was not empowered by law to do so. Moreover, he presented the data he had acquired to the Czechoslovak mass media without approval by the screened person thereby violating the screening law provisions, the statement said.

Meciar's defamation, the document continued, is linked with his political activity, mainly his efforts at Slovakia's emancipation. Javorsky's "illegal screening" has opened a campaign to discredit national-oriented parties and movements in Slovakia, the statement said. According to a report of the Slovak parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, read by Javorsky in parliament Tuesday, Meciar was a collaborator of the now defunct secret police (StB).

Two Left-Wing Parties Merge

AU2603124392 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 92 p 2

[ALM report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Labor [DSP] and the Independent Left [NL] merged on Friday, 20 March, at a joint meeting of DSP and NL supreme bodies.

Jeszenszky Supports International Conferences

LD2903130192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The NATO member states and the member states of the former Warsaw Treaty can mutually control each other's airspace in the future due to the signing of the Open Skies agreement at the CSCE conference, which started in Helsinki yesterday. Istvan Kulcsar, our correspondent at the scene, reports on the events of the first day.

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] [passage omitted] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky held special talks with his Italian and Russian colleagues yesterday. He spoke about them to Hungarian radio.

[Jeszenszky] All of the talks I mentioned were useful, and there was great agreement and similar thinking to act together at this conference and in other international fora. The identification of starting points is particularly important in the case of Hungary and Russia because, as the address by the Russian foreign minister indicated, a new champion of minority rights has emerged. This is due to the Russian minority of 10 million people in the successor states. Thus, the Russians have become extremely interested in assuring minority rights and such international conventions [words indistinct], which can ensure these rights. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Comments on Events in Moldova

LD2903031192 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky spoke to the *Newsreel* about Hungary's position on the events in Moldova:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] How much does this situation concern us Hungarians?

[Jeszenszky] Hungary has friendly relations with Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova. It is not because of us that our relationship with Romania is not so friendly. This matter, as it stands, concerns us only in so far as we wish everybody all the best, particularly the minorities. At the same time, we hope that nobody resorts to violence. This matter can be settled on the basis of human rights, on the basis of principles and practices recently laid down in Helsinki. It is very important that outsiders not intervene in this matter. The foreign ministers—the representatives—of Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, and Russia agreed on this in Helsinki. [end recording]

Acceptance of Court of Justice's Authority Urged

AU3003104292 Budapest MTI in English 1046 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, 27 March (MTI)—Hungary should accept The Hague International Court's authority as binding for the country, says a government proposal to be submitted to parliament. It is time for Hungary's legislature to annul the reservations the country—and all former socialist countries—made when it was admitted to the UN and its specialized agencies in 1955, Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo said reporting about a Thursday government session.

Signing the UN Charter, Hungary recognized the statutes of The Hague International Court of Justice and those of further 20 international bodies, and accepted the obligations stemming from them. Nevertheless, it made reservations rejecting any outside court's legal authority over Hungary. The reservation was abolished by the Hungarian Government in the late eighties and now Hungary considers the time right to officially recognize international legal bodies, authority as well.

Answering a question, Laszlo said in an emergency, if all other efforts to settle the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower dam debate with Czechoslovakia fail, Hungary will apply to The Hague International Court. The first task, however, he said, is to pass a law recognizing The Hague International Court's legal authority as binding for Hungary. The official document on the act is to be deposited by the Hungarian foreign minister with the UN Secretary-General. By this step, Hungary will become a genuine full UN member, Laszlo added.

Army Strength Reduced by 35 Percent

LD2603223492 Budapest MTI in English 2022 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—Hungary's Army strength has dwindled by 35 per cent from 1986 to 1992, Commander of Hungary's Land Force Lieutenant General Bel Gyuricza told the Thursday session of Parliament's Defence Committee in Szekesfehervar. The decrease accords with commitments made during the Vienna troop reduction talks, and the Paris Charter, Gyuricza said. The present "peacetime, land force numbers 40,000, including 26,500 regular soldiers" he said. The arsenal of tactical missiles has been scrapped altogether, with the number of tanks reduced by 43 per cent, artillery devices by 16 per cent, and armoured vehicles by 26 per cent. Reorganization of the Army has affected nearly 3,500 officers. Because the ensuing uncertainty spurred many officers to leave the Army, the officer's staff has now fallen 20 per cent short of the required number.

Border Stations With Yugoslav Republics To Open

LD2703232592 Budapest MTI in English 1327 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—Six or eight border stations will be opened this year along Hungary's common border with Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Romania and Slovakia, the Hungarian government decided in its Thursday session. The locations will have to be coordinated with the authorities of neighbouring countries, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo said. Hungary's 75 border stations are no longer sufficient to

serve passenger traffic, which doubled in the 1980s. Hungarian authorities reported that 112 million people and 1.2 million trucks crossed the border in 1990, the spokesman said.

In other news, the government discussed a joint report—by the ministries of defence, internal affairs, and finance—about the new concept of defence preparations and mobilization in Hungary. Judit Juhasz, spokeswoman in charge of internal affairs, said that the ministers approved a working plan which declares Hungary should remain able to function—and guarantee the defence of the state and its citizens—even in the three qualified cases specified in the constitution (state of emergency, martial law, crisis).

In other matters, the government finalized its bill on the protection of personal data, and the publicity of data of common interest, after consulting with the six parliamentary parties. The bill stipulates that personal data can only be used with the consent of the people concerned, and legal orders to publish such data can only be made in the public's interest. The safe and secret handling of data is the data-handlers, responsibility, and the data-handlers are liable for all damage stemming from the unlawful handling of data. The bill complies with the Council of Europe standards on data protection.

The government also discussed the introduction of stricter traffic safety regulations. Since 1987, the number of traffic accidents grew by 14-23 per cent annually in Hungary, and these statistics per population and number of vehicles are twice or three times worse here than in Western Europe. In 1990, Hungary registered 2,500 deaths and 37,000 injuries resulting from traffic accidents, costing the government, insurance companies and individuals a reported 40 billion forints. Last year's figures are smaller due to less traffic. The government is planning to introduce stricter regulations so that the number of accidents will decrease by 8-10 per cent annually, the spokeswoman said.

No Need Seen To Renew Former CEMA Trade

LD2903073192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2200 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Hungary does not need the help of Western banks to attempt to restore its trade links with the former CEMA countries. This was said by Peter Balazs, head of a department in the Ministry of International Economic Relations, at the London conference of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He added: Our country has enough foreign currency, and it wishes to develop its trade now primarily with Western states and with Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Official Says Rescheduling Debts Not Necessary

LD2703224192 Budapest MTI in English 1456 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—Because of economic progress which has enabled Hungary to wholly pay off the interest on its national debt, the country will not have its foreign debts rescheduled. "For this reason, I can't understand why some foreign experts, ignoring Hungary's official standpoint, wish to intervene in their governments," said Peter Akos Bod, president of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH), in the daily newspaper "NEPSZABADSAG" on Friday.

Bod's remarks were prompted by an earlier statement made by Alexander C. Tomlinson, head of the Hungarian-American enterprise fund, on the Hungarian television a few days ago. In the interview, Tomlinson said he would propose that the U.S.A. reschedule Hungary's debts. To the paper's remark that not only foreign but even some Hungarian experts believe it necessary to reschedule the country's debts, Bod responded, "some Hungarian politicians still believe Hungary's debt is excessively high. Fortunately, they are starting to realize there is no need to reschedule it."

Hungary survived the loss of its eastern markets and managed to curb inflation, the NBH president said. An increasing amount of working capital flows into the country, and loans are now available on a 7-9 per cent interest. Finally, Bod said Hungary can pay its interest, and has access to loans financing the repayment of principals. In addition, the International Monetary Fund just gave the green light to disburse the first installment on a loan granted to Hungary last year, Bod said.

As reported yesterday, Frigyes Harshegyi, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary, said that no net capital has left Hungary in the last year, and capital influx for 1992 should exceed the interest on the national debt. An improvement in Hungary's debt situation is also signalled by a decrease in total debts over the past year, from 16 billion to 14 billion dollars. NBH reserves now exceed 4 billion dollars.

Western Investment Reportedly Totals $3 Billion

LD2803084492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Figures disclosed at a Vienna meeting on Western investment in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland show that Hungary is well ahead of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the field of foreign investment, the Vienna correspondent of Hungarian Radio has reported. It was said that of the $5 billion invested in the region, our country's share was $3 billion. Interest in Czechoslovakia is increasing, though it received only $1.3 billion in investments.

German Official on Environmental Cooperation

LD2803205792 Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest March 27 (MTI)—To what extent can Hungary rely on support from the European Community's ecological lobby, and can the latter counterbalance the advocates of the Danube-Main-Rhine waterway who

have an interest in the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage as well, reporters asked Clement Stroetmann, German state secretary for the environment, nature conservation and nuclear safety, in a Budapest press conference on Friday.

As reported earlier, last Tuesday the Hungarian parliament authorized the government to cancel the 1977 Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project providing that the Czechoslovak side fails to stop works violating the agreement by April 30, 1992. Earlier, the government of the Czech and Slovak federal republic decided to have the project completed and put it into operation unilaterally. The decision, violating some international treaties, would imply the unilateral diversion of the Danube and a change in the nature of the common border.

The state secretary said the question was a delicate one since Germany also had to keep its relationship with Czechoslovakia in mind. In his view, navigation should not be set against environmental protection since water transport is one of the ecologically soundest solutions. It is beyond doubt, however, that the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage poses a grave ecological challenge. In the state secretary's view, finding a solution requires patience and negotiations.

The state secretary held talks on the chances of bilateral ecological cooperation and Hungary's draft law on environmental protection. The talks focussed on cooperation in nature conservation, waste management and combatting air and water pollution, and preparations for the world meeting to take place in Brazil next summer.

Media Law, Export of Nuclear Products Discussed

LD2603202292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television should function as a public foundation. Today's government session discussed the media law in a second reading in the presence of the chairman of the Cultural Committee and leaders of the coalition factions. On the basis of the consensus that had evolved in the committee, the ministers were of the view that a few minor alterations were still necessary, and that at the 10 April session they could finalize the text of the bill so that it could go before parliament as soon as possible. The public foundation solution enables the independent economic management of public service information institutions and, to a certain extent, their commercial activity.

At the government session there was agreement that our country should join the agreement of the international civilian aviation organization on the marking of and search for plastic explosive agents. Such materials are not manufactured in our country, but they are used by the Armed Forces.

The decree on the authorization of nuclear exports was modified. According to this, we are joining the export-control system of nuclear products of dual application. In future, the export of nuclear material will be controlled as rigorously as the export of products figuring on the Coordinating Council for Multilateral Export Controls list. As a result of the tightening, importing will become simpler [as heard]; at the same time, it will not be possible for our country to be used as a transit point for evading international control.

The government authorized the industry minister to reduce considerably, in agreement with the competent portfolios, the capacities maintained in the event of liquidation, and to enable the marketing of reserve stocks. This is necessary because, according to the bankruptcy law, the so-called fixed capacities cannot be drawn into liquidation, and the state is obligated to satisfy the creditors' demands.

Privatization Bills Presented to Assembly

LD2503230392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0915 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Speech by Tamas Isepy, state secretary at the Ministry of Justice, at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly, esteemed fellow deputies. According to the Constitution of the Hungarian Republic, Hungary is a market economy in which public ownership and private ownership enjoy equal rights and equal protection. The market economy declared in the Constitution—although I would immediately expand that to the social market economy based decisively on private ownership, or the creation of corresponding ownership relations—can be achieved only as the result of a fairly lengthy process. Bourgeoisie cannot be created through legislation, but it is of basic importance that the period of transition be served by clear legal regulation that meets the requirements of a legal guarantee.

Despite the achievements of economic legislation hitherto, which aimed at setting up a market economy—the achievements of which are admittedly unique in the region—a comprehensive review is required. According to this, the government, relying on the experiences of the past period and the four-year economic political program, has prepared a new strategy of ownership and privatization.

The aim of the strategy is to set up the ownership structure of a modern bourgeois constitutional state. In accordance with this strategy, bills have been prepared on the handling and utilization of enterpreneurial assets, which are to remain permanently in state ownership; the sale, utilization ,and protection of assets temporarily in state ownership; and an amendment to decrees connected with the laws on the state's entrepreneurial assets.

The formation of the social market economy decisively based on private ownership, among others, can primarily be achieved through a further decline in the economic participation of the state, through giving the entrepreneurial assets of the state to private ownership, that is through privatization.

The state though cannot withdraw completely from the economic sphere, partially because there are tasks whose fulfillment remains the obligation of the state. This includes administering institutions that comprise the state administration, involvement in cultural, health, and scientific projects, and running nonprofit organizations. Similarly, it cannot withdraw from the economic sphere because it ensures the interests of the state through the safekeeping of state assets, and there are economic-strategic, national economic, and other important interests that require state participation in economic life.

State assets are needed to resolve these tasks. Therefore, if the state wishes to participate in the economy more than just administratively, it has to embark on businesses. We have to separate and properly circumscribe the state's entrepreneurial assets from the state treasury, and even within the entrepreneurial assets it is reasonable to differentiate between the assets that are to be privatized in the short term and those that constitute permanent state property. For different reasons though, the state cannot in any way join in an enterprise with its treasury assets, and can only temporarily join in an enterprise that is to be privatized.

Esteemed National Assembly, the bill on the handling and utilization of entrepreneurial assets that are to remain permanently in state ownership makes provisions, or sets out regulations, for a completely new and unprecedented draft law. The bill on the sale, utilization, and protection of assets temporarily remaining in state ownership includes all of the legislation related to privatization and includes revised and essentially new regulations.

These two bills, which completely span the state's entrepreneurial assets, necessitate a modification, amplification, or in the case of certain outdated decrees, invalidation of related laws. The bill to amend decrees connected with laws on the state's entrepreneurial assets is aimed at this purpose, which includes the modification of all related laws.

During the preparation of the bill on handling and utilization of entrepreneurial assets remaining permanently in state ownership, we considered the legislation of Western European countries that have developed market economies and their accumulated experience, and we also made use of the contribution of famous foreign experts. According to international experience, it is reasonable to establish a joint-stock company for the handling and utilization of entrepreneurial assets remaining permanently in state ownership. It is an argument for the establishment of a joint-stock company that during the first years such organizations will have very little income received from their assets, but if an organization is set up as a joint-stock company it can receive credits and issue bonds.

In addition, the most important fact is that the entrepreneurial assets remaining permanently in state ownership would be run by such an organizational form, to which company, accountancy, and taxation laws—that is, legislation regulating economic life—apply in exactly the same way as to any other participants in the market. Here, too, the state's role is as an owner administering the enterprises and as an executive power regulating all enterprises.

The number of economic organizations possessing assets that are to remain permanently in state ownership, and the proportion of state ownership, will be defined in a government decree. This is an obligation of the government, which will be fulfilled in accordance with the points laid down in the law—I stress, laid down in the law—by the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

This is not a final decision. It will be possible in the future to refer the assets to be privatized into the domain of permanent state property, or the other way around, if that becomes reasonable because of new circumstances.

In line with the practice of Western European countries, the ratio of assets permanently in state ownership is 25-30 percent. Experience gained there shows that it is justified to assure assets of this ratio for the sake of successful state operation. A larger ratio of entrepreneurial assets in permanent state ownership is at present handled by state enterprises. In the future these enterprises will be transformed into companies by a state share organization. In another fundamental change compared to the previous regulations, this state share organization will not be the administrator but the owner of the assets allocated to it. It is responsible for operating, utilizing and, if needed, selling the state assets allocated to it, with the limitations defined in the bill.

In certain areas of permanent state assets—for example in the case of economic organizations conducting national public service activities—due to their special situation and features the ownership rights of the state share organization will be exercised not by the share oprganziation but by the minister responsible. Every company, with the exception of those listed in government regulations, can be fully privatized. [passage omitted]

Therefore, the fundamental aim of the bill, beyond the speeding-up of privatization, is to do away with legal loopholes and the legal uncertainties that have evolved in practice in order to work out a simpler solution than the ones set out in the current legal provisions. The fact that one comprehensive law regulates all this serves the comprehensive nature and ease of handling of legal material. Most of the planned modifications are motivated by simplicity. Thus, in the future, privatization with the involvement of expert companies, which is

already becoming the practice, can take on a larger role. In this area the legal regulation can be a guarantee that the privatization process will in fact speed up, and that the sale of state assets can proceed in a wide range of enterprises at the same time, on a large scale. This way the government's division of tasks in connection with privatization can become more sensible and we can lighten the burdens of the state share organization, which will continue to be responsible for performing these tasks.

The inclusion in the bill of rules relating to the so-called forced transformation into company format means a further radical change. The reason for this is that the transformation of enterprises cannot be prolonged for years, these processes must end within the foreseeable future. Thus, the enterprises that have not concluded their transformation by 31 December 1992 will be transformed into companies by the state share organization by 30 June 1993, in accordance with the regulations of enterprises under state administrative control.

As a consequence, from this time the state enterprise as an organizational form alien to the market economy ceases to exist. Naturally, in whichever way the state enterprise is transformed, the regulations on the protection of state assets will have to be kept to the full until the successor company is created.

The bill includes corrections to, and at the same time further develops, the decrees of the 1990 Law No. 8 on the protection of state assets entrusted to enterprises. The aim of the bill is to amend legal provisions in connection with the state entrepreneurial assets and to harmonize the regulations of the laws referred to in bills on permanent state assets and on temporary state assets in the new legislation. The large number of legal provisions concerned, and the significance and extent of modifications made, justified a separate law.

Among these I would mention that the 1989 Law No. 13 on economic organizations and economic companies is annulled by the bill in such a way that its provisions on the transformation of economic organizations are built into the bill on temporary state assets with the necessary modifications, while its provisions on the transformation of economic companies among each other are built into company law, also with the necessary modifications.

It is also natural that in connection with the bills pertaining to the state's entrepreneurial assets, Law No. 6 of 1977 on state enterprises will basically change. I should like to mention one of these: after the bill comes into force, new enterprises can come about only via the organizational units becoming independent.

Esteemed National Assembly, the question of how long the outlined bills will exist—remain in force—merits special attention. International experience indicates that the regulations pertaining to state entrepreneurial assets remaining permanently in state ownership are long-lasting. For this reason, the state share company and the asset holdings that it can create require long- term regulation.

On the other hand, as can be established from the title of the bill, if the conditions desired by the legislator are fulfilled, the provisions relating to assets temporarily in state ownership will lose content, cease to exist, become invalid. For example, it is obvious that if all state enterprises are transformed into companies, there will be no need for the regulations pertaining to the transformation of state enterprises or for the provisions protecting state assets in this manner.

The classification method used will make it possible in the future to invalidate certain chapters of the bill in a manner whereby this should not cause difficulties in legal interpretation regarding the application of its still-necessary provisions.

Esteemed National Assembly, the bills before you have already provoked major discussions during their preparation. The explanation of this is that there is no classical model, there is no prescription to follow, which we could adopt and which could constitute an unequivocal solution for these tasks. On the other hand, although all sides should be in agreement regarding the final goal—the creation of a social market economy—we envisage the practical achievement of this in different ways.

Our responsibility is great because the bills determine the country's future in the long term, and not only from an economic perspective. In this regard, we are performing a pioneering role, and we can serve as a model for the countries of the region as well.

Esteemed National Assembly, I trust that these words have convinced you of the necessity and correctness of the draft legal solutions, and for this reason I ask you to support, by your vote, the adoption of the bill. Thank you for your attention.

Paks Nuclear Power Station Operation Detailed

AU2603170392 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Mar 92 p 11

[Report by Laszlo Hajnal: "Paks Provides Almost Half of Hungary's Electric Energy Production—500 Million Forints Spent on Security"]

[Text] The production costs of electric energy are the lowest in the Paks Nuclear Power Station: 1 kilowatt/hour of electricity costs 1.40 forints. Paks produced 13,726 gigawatt/hour of electric power, 31.1 percent of our domestic consumption or 46.3 percent of our domestic production in 1991. The Paks Nuclear Power Station Inc. had a successful year in 1991. All this transpired from a news conference held on 25 March.

The enterprise concluded the reconstruction of the turbines of Reactor Bloc No. 1 in 1991. This reconstruction

increased the reactor's performance: from the previous 4x400 megawatt to 4x460 megawatt, or 1,840 megawatt.

The chemical cleaning of the steam generators in Bloc No. 1 was also concluded in 1991, an operation carried out with Siemens technology. This increased the power production efficiency. A total of 500 million forints were spent on reconstruction and safety measures in 1991. As a result, the IAEA examination carried out in March 1991 had positive results, and the report said that Paks implemented most of the proposals and observations made by the IAEA in 1988. The quantity of fluid and gaseous nuclear residues in the environment was small in 1991, just as in previous years, compared with international standards. The amount of radiation affecting the population was one ten-thousandth of the natural radiation.

Among the questions asked at the aforementioned news conference, many dealt with the storage of nuclear residues and the possible increase in the nuclear station's capacity. According to the enterprise heads, waste storage problems have been solved. The low and medium radioactive solid residue materials are partially stored on the premises and partially in the storage facility in Puspokszilagyi. Burned-out fuel elements were also sent to Russia in 1991, and according to the valid agreement, our Russian partner will have to accept further transports until 1993. Negotiations are under way on expanding the validity of the aforementioned contract.

No decision has been made yet on increasing the capacity of the Paks Nuclear Power Station. The Hungarian Government is expected to decide this year on the type of basic power stations to be included in the domestic electric energy production by the turn of the century, or by the year 2010 at the latest. The expected trends in domestic consumption in view of our industrial restructuring will have a decisive effect on the final decision. From this perspective, it is noteworthy that overall electric power consumption in Hungary decreased by 6 percent in 1991, and the further elimination of energy-intensive industrial sectors and the use of more up-to-date technology will probably turn this decrease into a lasting trend. Hungary cannot, however, disregard the possibility of setting up new conventional power stations, because, due to their obsolete technology, several of the power stations currently in operation will have to be shut down by the turn of the century. The government will have to decide on whether to build nuclear or conventional power plants to replace the old ones.

Official Expelled From Smallholders Party

LD2903094392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Istvan Morvay, who became the Interior Ministry's political state secretary with the support of the party leadership, has been expelled from the Smallholders' Party. Jozsef Torgyan wrote that Istvan Morvay had successively violated the party constitution, and had actually conducted antiparty activity. Istvan Morvay drafted an open letter in reply to his expulsion in which he objects that there is no substantive accusation, no defense allowed, no facts of the case, no hearings or proceedings, and the possibility of legal redress is also lacking. The politician otherwise acknowledges that he differs from Jozsef Torgyan regarding his human characteristics, in his moral and political way of thinking. As is known, the Smallholders' leadership, headed by Jozsef Torgyan, in the past weeks has successively expelled parliamentary deputies and government members from the party.

Olszewski Authorized To Hold Talks on Coalition

LD2703214792 Warsaw PAP in English 1943 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 27—Leaders of the parties supporting the government authorised Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Friday [27 March] to hold talks with a view to broadening the ruling coalition.

After an over one and a half-hour meeting, Premier Olszewski stated the forum had discussed future negotiations on broadening the coalition and possibly getting a wider support for the government and extending its composition. "As a result of this meeting I was authorised to hold talks aimed to get broader support for the government and its programme with all parliamentary, democratic and pro-reformatory groupings," he stated.

Asked whether it was possible to include the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) in the coalition, leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that "in the current situation of Poland all groupings should be approached" and added talks with the Democratic Union (UD) were under way and those with the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) considered.

Head of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) Wieslaw Chrzanowski underlined the coalition leaders agreed that the prime minister, and not individual parties, should hold negotiations to seek agreement on reforms and acceptance for the government socioeconomic programme. Asked about the KPN and the KLD, he recalled the liberals had quit the coalition at the initial stage of forming this cabinet because they saw no possibilities of programmatic cooperation with its members.

The Polish Peasant Party (PSL) conditioned its agreement to admitting the UD and the KLD in the coalition on their clear assessment of economic policies in the past years and proposition of changes in them. PSL leader Waldemar Pawlak suggested to set up a team to define limits of concession the coalition members might make in their economic and political talks with future partners. Meanwhile, Krzysztof Zabinski of the KLD declared his party was open to coalition talks on no preliminary conditions and opined a realistic budget bill was a good platform for discussion and compromise. KPN leader Leszek Moczulski termed Olszewski's statement "a reasonable approach" which suggested the prime minister "might have some proposals for the confederation and the KLD."

According to Moczulski his party might come to terms with the UD on many political issues but the differences on economy between them would be difficult to overcome. UD Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki commented the prime minister's statement meant his opening to talks with the UD, and the KLD and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG) and added a meeting of the three groupings was planned for Saturday [28 March]. He considered an attempt to form "a government of national salvation" the key goal of the talks. "It is very important that society saw these attempts not as a game of elites but an effort to reconstruct the political situation so that vital problems of the state and economic reforms could be solved," Mazowiecki stated and added a grand coalition had to be formed for a longer time, not only to adopt budget.

Walesa Answers Questions on Phone-In Program

LD2903222692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Phone-in program with President Lech Walesa presented by correspondents Adam Fijolkowski and Andrzej Trojanowski; voices of separate correspondents not identified; questions phoned in by listeners are recorded; in Gdansk—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] Interest in this program, of course, is associated with our special guest today, President of the Republic Lech Walesa. Good day, Mr. president. In the course of the electoral campaign you promised a meeting with listeners on the airwaves. We have already had such an hour with the president: Lech Walesa replied to questions in the radio studio in Warsaw; there has also been a transmission from the Belweder Palace. Today the president's replies come live from the Gdansk Studio.

For the last week listeners from across the whole of Poland have been submitting questions to you. There are several hundred of them. We have chosen those that appeared most frequently, not only by phone but in letters as well. In the course of this program we are also receiving questions to the president by telephone. Our number is Gdansk 41-30-61.

And now, we commence this presidential meeting of ours. Those who most often phoned and wrote in to us were those who are most worried about their future—pensioners and annuity-holders. Here are the most characteristic questions and doubts directed to the president of the republic.

[First question] I wanted to ask the president: I have 595,000 zloties [Z] per month; I have monthly payments of Z500,000. Can I live on Z95,000? I will not ask for help, for they should know that there are many such people in Poland. I am very disappointed. I have a Solidarity membership card. I have experienced so much, and I am very disappointed.

[Second question] Mr. president, please tell me how families with many children are supposed to live, where one person works and the mother is bringing up a small child.

[Third question] My name is Zawada. I am from Lodz. I am a pensioner, after you signed the pensions law. As of January 1992, I have lost Z400,000 on my pension. That is one-third of the pension. How am I to live today and pay for such expensive services and fuel?

[Correspondent] Mr. president, well precisely, the most frequent questions are not in fact about how to live but about how to survive.

[Walesa] The first thing that I want to say is that you selected these questions and not the president. That is first. Second, yes, regarding pension, pensioners, and annuity-holders, this is a frightful problem and I see it and agonize over it. At the same time, I would like you to notice something else, that everything bad that is taking place in the country is always attributed to Lech Walesa. And the gentleman who spoke of the small pension or annuity immediately noted asked why did the president sign? But why did you not notice that your people, by election, adopted this law in parliament? And irrespective of whether I signed or not, it would have become [word indistinct] in any case. That is why I have complaints regarding you and others—that when Walesa asks you to go to the elections, choose people who will adopt good resolutions, who will represent you well. Then 50 percent of society did not listen to Walesa. You chose such people, and they represent you today in such a way. Of course, in my term of office, I will want to fulfill all my obligations. I have no other ambitions.

On the other hand, if that lady says she is disappointed, then I would wish that you draw your attention to the fact that we are shaping up, even as the Solidarity movement, but the economy has dropped out from under us, the economy that was associated with the CEMA, with the Soviet Union, with the former GDR, and with other countries. Any country losing 70 percent of its economic partners, losing 70 percent of its markets, not even the United States, Japan, France, and Germany, would find itself in no worse a position than Poland. And so, not everything is our fault. Quite simply, a great revolution has affected our entire, aged system, the entirety of our cooperation.

And of course, it is our fault—in a manner that I perceive a little differently. The village elder, the voivoda, the Mayor of a city is not interested enough in such cases; he does not seek possibilities to meet with the unemployed and needy. People! We must help each other. We must think together about what to do in such situations. On his own President Walesa will not come up with these solutions. That is why immediately after my return from Germany, I will attempt to mobilize so that all people who take our money and yours—on the lowest rungs—will attempt to organize the unemployed, organize those who have been successful, to help each other jointly and mutually.

I encourage activity, at the least I encourage listening. You did not listen, you do not listen to Walesa, you only make demands. And I myself am of limited ability in the current situation.

[Correspondent] And the next questions, please.

[Question] In 1980, we struggled and went on strike together with the president for the abolition of excessively high wages. The middle class and the poorest section of society went down several times. On the other hand, excessive wages and millionaire sharks have appeared. How does the implementation of the postulates of 1980 appear at the moment? What remains from those years, in the president's opinion?

[Walesa] As you can notice—if you are listening you heard my first reply. You will notice that our best people from the struggle, such as Kuron, such as the minister of labor....

[Corresponent interrupts] Boni.

[Walesa] Boni. These were the best people and our friends. And they were ministers of labor and wages. And they introduced the reforms, those that we planned in 1980. And now, is it that the president does not measure up, or is the mistake elsewhere? Of course, again, this entire problem comes from the fact that we have too little to divide. We do not have, we do not sell, they do not pay us. This is a great revolution in which we must make do for ourselves. Is it pleasant for me to hear these voices that really are tragic. But I request that all the realities be taken into account, all the things that are taking place. It is necessary to do everything for solidarity to exist, but above all on the lowest rungs. So I say that the village elder, the voivoda, the city mayor should organize the unemployed, create companies out of the unemployed. Think how the unemployment funds that come to him can be multiplied. If he were to organize himself well, then he would get help from the World Bank. But he is not doing this, he is waiting. He is not interested but takes money. But you see the only president who promised and is not doing anything. I am waiting for your help. I am waiting for you to push these people, you on the lowest rungs, and force them to organize you so as to jointly consider with you wherever you live the proposals that will make your loss more tolerable.

[Correspondent] These were general questions relating to the basic, fundamental question of how to survive. And now, an accusation that is directed privately, rather, to Lech Walesa.

[Question] This is Alicja, from the Gdansk Shipyard. Mr. president, formerly our colleague, are you aware of the fact that your statements, unfortunately unclear but not unambiguous and often aggressive, are not at all Christian? It seems that you have not resisted the communist perversion that it is always necessary to struggle with someone. Does Father Cybula [Walesa's confessor] not draw your attention to this, does he not see this? The latest example of seeking an enemy is your attacks on the intelligentsia, dividing people into the hostile intelligentsia and the idiotic spade-wielders. I recall 1968 and 1970. Are we to forget about 1980?

[Walesa] Dear lady, you have heard the rumor and you do not know the truth. I said something which I touched upon in my statement at the [Solidarity] congress of Gdansk Region. But I was speaking about something else. I said that when in 1984, 1985, and 1986 I appealed,

I announced four sectors in which it was appropriate to work: Before we achieve victory, every one of the social, legal, economic, and another group should prepare solutions that will not cause financial scandals, that will not cause excessive wages, that will be more just. Certain groups in our Solidarity that we call elites—for they led our struggle then—did not prepare any solutions and when the victory came we allowed financial scandals, we allowed a lack of laws, including various laws in this regard, and I have complaints not to the intelligentsia in general, only to the people in our union who did not listen to Walesa. They did not prepare solutions, and we took over power without preparation, and thus we have these problems. And thus I have complaints and will continue to have them, to the lawyer colleagues, that we have bad laws, to the bankers colleague, to communications workers, to railway men, that for the entire 10 years they did not prepare solutions, and today we must seek solutions on the run. And can one have complaints about this, or is the worker to blame, that his leaders did not prepare solutions for him, for he will not do this after all. He imagined for himself that this beautiful union which struggles beautifully, will beautifully propose his protection, defense, and so on after the victory. Can one have complaints? I am convinced that the complaints are just, but this is not a struggle with the intelligentsia, this is not a struggle with thinkers, this is the frank truth that relates to our people.

[Correspondent] I remind you, ladies and gentlemen, that Lech Walesa is answering questions today from listeners to Polish radio first program and Gdansk radio, live from the studio in Gdansk.

[Question] My name is Banaszek; I am from Gdansk-Oliwa. Mr. president, what role, in your opinion, will Poles play in the European Community, if People's Poland has bequeathed us with an achievement like this: that only 23 percent of Poles have secondary education, whereas in Western Europe it is 80 percent. How can we bridge this chasm, in your opinion?

[Walesa] Sir, if we had to bridge this chasm only for ourselves, it would indeed be a tragedy for Poland. But look at it from another angle, sir. After all, a great eastern market must be of more importance to Germany, to Western Europe—a market which will give them a continuing possibility to make money. So, in their own interest, particularly the Germans', they must overcome this difference, they must make the crossing to the East, in order to be able to develop. So, in this complex of tasks, we will do things ourselves, but if the world wants to develop, it must also meet us half way and must invest a very great deal to have business later. Not everybody understands that yet, but we must know it and know that it is a common interest, in their greater interest, and in our interest as well. If we pose the problems like this, then there will be more hope, because in the times in which we live sense and logic will be victorious.

[Question] Good day, Krzysztof Zaborowski, Gdansk Medical Academy. I would like to ask why a doctor and a teacher in a post-communist country aiming for normality still earn less than a worker. Nothing has changed and the president is responsible for that.

[Walesa] Yes indeed, sir, the president is responsible for that. And I say to you: You are responsible for that, for I will remind you what I said in 1974: You in your group, doctors and teachers, calculate—France, Germany, and the United States—and what percentage, I repeat what percentage of the national income, what percentage of the national budget should be put at the disposal of those cells, to do well by them? [sentence as heard]

And what have you done so far? To this day you do not know what percentage of the national income should be divided. And we pull this way and that; who will tear more away from whom? That is why I once more suggest to you: In order to manage well we must have a main plan in which there will be a percentage division of national income that is appropriate, and when we raise our economy to a higher level, the division will be greater even though the percentage remains the same. Do this, and then we will see who has more. I have looked at one hospital case. I specially took all the payments of the doctors and ancillary staff. Of course, the doctors worked more, spent more time on duty. That is true, but the others did not have this opportunity, and could not spend more on duty, and earned one fifth of what the doctors earned. That is the obvious truth, but this does not at all mean that you live well, that this is right. Let us look with greater solidarity to the fact that the questions relate to all people.

[Correspndent] The next question from our listener relates to additional work.

[Question] Boguslaw [name indistinct]. Since November 1990, I am on an enforced pension, a so-called early one, for employees made redundant for reasons relating to the work enterprise. My question: Why cannot people drawing the pensions mentioned earlier get any other extra remuneration, that is, they cannot take employment? When will this idiotic provision finally be annulled?

[Walesa] I want publicly to state something different again. Ladies and gentlemen, in a normal country where democracy is in force there is a division of tasks. And this division is: the parliament that makes the laws and the government that implements these laws. The president is there to correct, to assist, to facilitate this conception that we have today. And in association with this, it is necessary to seek a situation in which we know who is responsible for what. And sir, as you remember, I conditionally signed for Minister Boni, who immediately made an amendment for me, and this amendment was that the second part of the law comes into effect immediately, and everyone who has work, everyone who does not cause a redundancy and has the willingness to work, irrespective of whether he is on a pension or an annuity, has such a possibility. But what can I do? A change of government ensued. Minister Boni did not complete his

piece of work. And well, now the new government is composing something else. In good faith I did everything appropriate. On the other hand, things have so turned out that it has all fallen apart for us. But not because of me, and not through any fault of mine. I demand that everyone be able to work, I demand that no one have less than Z1 million, I demand that excessive wages not be paid out. But this all has an order in a democratic country, an order in which it is placed, an order in which it is dealt with. If I were just a president who issues decrees I would have done this a long time ago. But in a democracy we must subserve ourselves.

[Correspondent] Mr. president, we are all the time talking of financial matters. Here is an idea to rescue our budget from another listener.

[Question] Good day, Mr. president. I am a 48 year-old pensioner who has second category invalidity and receives Z479,000 every month. I would like to put to you a brilliant idea on how the state coffers could benefit each month to the tune of Z465 billion. The gentlemen deputies receive allowances of between Z4 million and Z6 million—this is a figure quoted by our press. I propose to our gentlemen deputies that in a humanitarian fashion, they should each month give back Z1 million each to the state treasury—just as the president is doing for the whole of Polish society. What do you say to that, Mr. president? One could help out many human beings, buy equipment and apparatus, aid pensioners and those who get disability payments, help the health service and the teachers. Well, anyway, I leave it to you to decide where help would be rendered. Thank you very much.

[Walesa] Madam, I can dispose of my money in any way I wish, but I have no possibility of administering money belonging to the deputies. And that is why you should turn to the deputies, Madam, to do what you are asking. Perhaps this will catch on, I do not know.

[Correspondent] Mr. president, Mrs. Waleria Kowalska, if I am reading her name correctly, from Jelenia Gora, has also found this source of extra funds for our budget in your own pocket, and she puts this question in her letter: How much are your titanium [armour-plated] cars costing you? The Macaroni factory in Malbork for your wife? The Olech company for your son? The Z300 million car for the 17-year old, and the Warsaw-Gdansk travelling expenses for the second year running?

[Walesa] Everything that has been listed here is a complete lie. I have not bought a titanium car and neither my wife, myself, or my son is involved in any company nor will we be involved in any company. These are rumors which are being invented by someone in order to take away my authority. I declare once again: I am not into anything and neither is my wife or my children. And while I am president, no one will be into anything. I do not want any companies, not a penny. What I have is sufficient for me and when I won't have it, I will go cap in hand to the railway station and get it there. And now, there was another question?

[Correspondent] Yes, those journeys from Warsaw.

[Walesa] Sir, ladies and gentlemen, at the previous meeting, I explained that if I was wasting Z1 from the Polish budget, I would not travel. But I explained that an aeroplane must fly its number of hours empty; that a pilot must fly his number of hours, he must. I made the request: Gentlemen, you are flying for nothing, uselessly. In your training—because you have to train—incorporate the president's journeys to Gdansk, so that they do not cost a single zloty. And that was done. Nobody loses. In any case, empty flights have to take place because the flying hours must be made up and the pilots have to fly the planes. So, this is probably the last time I will explain, that I do not waste one single Polish zloty and I do not waste anything not connected with logicality and sense [as heard]. I know how hard they are to earn today.

[Correspondent] From financial affairs and the private affairs of Lech Walesa, as well as official matters, let's pass on to politics, perhaps.

[Question] Mr. president, at the present time, work is in progress on the draft of the new constitution of the republic. A discussion is in progress on the shape of the new basic act. What role would you see in it for the Sejm, the government, and of course, for yourself, as president?

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I only agreed—to my misfortune—to this period of restructuring and to the period in which we will jointly arrive at a systemic, political, and economic logic; and not a day or an hour longer. So, I imagine a great discussion in this new reality, in which we will work out and create a good place for parliament, for the government, for and the president. Today, as a practitioner, I think that, for today, there still is not a good solution. Let's take the example of the German president who is today more of a figurehead. If this were so in Polish practice, the poor people in Poland would say: What use is this kind of president who wastes money and does not do anything good? And the second possibility: the U.S. President, the premier and ruler in all matters, in fact. Well, this kind of president is good, but when there is already a stable democracy. Today, when democracy is being built, the president must be searching, provoking discussion, seeking, and losing, in order for us finally to construct sensible solutions and include them in the constitution. Afterwards, storms, different chance victories in parliament will not be able to change a well drawn-up constitution. Only the nation will have the right to change it. So, the point is not one of adopting a constitution, but the possibility or the powerlessness to change the constitution when the winds blow and there are different twists and turns. In view of this, I expect that the nation, together with the president and government, will work out good solutions, draw them up as a code for every Pole, and they will remain in force for a long time.

I have my own point of view, but I am not the one who imposes. I am the one who provokes and causes a great storm that will bring the best solutions to Poland.

[Correspondent] One more question concerning the new constitution.

[Question] I am phoning [words indistinct] from Gdansk. Sir, it seems to me that regarding this referendum the president is proposing something that is very important and very nice, only that at the moment, we lack the money for various other things, important things such as higher education, the health service. I do not know if it is worth spending so much money on this referendum. This will, after all, be expensive. Is it not worth quite simply stopping at the moment with confirmation by the Sejm and later by the Senate?

[Correspondent] Well, a similar view is held by a listener from Torun.

[Walesa] That is why I, as president, saving every Polish penny, proposed that this referendum, the constitution be adopted by parliament, and that the nation confirm it and not allow it to be changed, so as not to bear any losses. Why am I concerned with the nation here? Well, we know how complicated the Polish reforms are, we know what a change in circumstance can lead to. And that is why, as a nation, we cannot give up the possibility of deciding even our chosen representatives. At times, the entire nation must be responsible for the correct development. That is why I wish the nation to confirm, not to allow anyone at all to change it, even parliament. This is my aim. On the other hand, it is necessary to find a solution, probably that which I propose, adopted through parliament rather than waiting for confirmation by the nation, on the occasion of some other expenditures that must in any case ensue. And so, adopt it in the elections. [passage as heard]

[Question] My name is Edmund Szygatowski from Gdansk. I have questions: Why do the representatives of Solidarity who struggled for this country, a free country, a country without communists, now look only to their own stomachs and their own good and do not think of society. I feel that there are more financial scandals now than in the days of the communists. Second question: Is the president satisfied with himself and also with that which is taking place in our country? Who will the president blame for all the bad things that are taking place in our country given that there are no communists?

[Walesa] Sir, first, I will throw this back in your face and in the face of those like you who did not vote or who voted badly. Second, I will throw on top of that, the obvious facts—that means those facts that I have already spoken about in this program, that over 70 percent of the Polish economy has stood still. And this is not our fault. And that is why the people who observe these processes well must at least be just, and they should show greater solidarity. Well, that is the truth. That is why I will now be appearing as the motivator to work of the lower rungs, especially the unemployed. So the village elder and the voivoda should meet with the unemployed and with those who have succeeded, to say: Listen, you have succeeded, I have got problems. So help our company of the unemployed that is starting something and implementing it. Add a little, the state will add from funds for reorientation and there is an opportunity to do things. Only many do not want to want. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] Mr. president, there was a question about scandals. But regarding Solidarity activists, who, as Mrs. Zalewska from Wroclaw writes to us, move on to marvelous posts after ending their terms of office as union activists, just as it was once in the Polish People's Republic.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I myself came to work, as someone put it, in a marvelous sinecure. I want to say that among the company of presidents, I earn less than many mayors of small cities. Check this and you will see. Second, this is the normal state of affairs when a new group of activists from another orientation is created after this great victory, and they learn and pass on. This is normal, really. Of course, there are great mistakes, but this is what democracy is for. This is what the right to organize is for, that you should not allow a bad village elder to pass, or a bad councillor. I will not manage to look to all of this, I am not able to do this. And that is why, of course, I will do everything in my place, and I have done so. On the other hand, things are not going well in Poland. That is why, throughout my term of office, I intend to arrange these matters well. On the other hand, today I demand that you share this.

[Correspondent] This referred to Solidarity. On the other hand, let us perhaps move to the issue of the appeals that we have started to collate here. Let us first hear what our listeners have to say.

[First question] Wojciech Zeromski, from Gdansk, pensioner and war invalid, 69 years of age. Almost all of our politicians are beavering away at repairing the republic, and are in turn wrecking all that they can. And we pay. How much longer are we to pay for the incompetence of many parliamentarians and members of the government, for their ignorance and arrogance? The weather still bodes fare for financial crooks. Why are we to pay these billions for the Grobelnys, Bagsiks, and others? Such democracy smells to me of anarchy and total chaos.

[Second question] When will the president fulfill his pre-election undertaking regarding the prosecution of all those crooks who earned their money by doing swindles in Poland? The president promised that he would even chase them axe in hand and yet until now nothing has been done to punish them. So please take back from them what they have stolen and the state budget will have more than enough money.

[Third question] Mr. president, I would like to know your position on the following matter: How do you, as president and therefore as the first shepherd, view the fact that ever greater masses of people are descending into abject poverty, without hope for any improvement

in their fate, while battalions of financial crooks of all kinds are robbing the national coffers with impunity, cutting through the roots of the nation's existence and that of the state. Can you sleep peacefully in this situation and allow them to day-dream about another term of office?

[Walesa] Sir, you see it is like this: Your problem is that you do not know what I do, how I intrude, how I encourage, how I urge people on, how I shout, how I plead, how I implore. But the competent people in posts which have executive powers [changes thought] well all of this issue belongs to the minister of internal affairs, to the prosecutor, to the judges, and I cannot take their place. In a democracy I do not have not any rights in this matter. That is why, again—together with you—I appeal: Men, it is you, prosecutors, militiamen and the chief of militia: do you not hear this? Will you not get down to work at last and will you not stop? [Words indistinct] explaining why you are not doing your job, or that you are allowing all this to happen?

And now I will answer Madame Alicja from the shipyard: Tell me, madam, was I right, that it was our people from Solidarity in the matter of law, in the matter of the banking business. Did they not do the job? It was they, our people, who, through their lack of experience, brought about the possibility of financial scandals, it was they who created or failed to create the laws. And today when I say that these elites did not fulfill their early promise you, Madam, disagree with me! I am right, and this nation is right, but the point is that the nation expects me to find an answer. No! In a democratic country there are ministers to deal with these things and I encourage them, I prevail upon them, I almost force them. That is why they bear me a grudge. I do too much, that is why they hold it against me—grudges from people because it is to me that they direct these comments, and I direct them at the ministers, and I bear the grudges of the ministers for meddling in these matters.

That I do not understand, that it has to be proven, time is needed, the law has to be changed. [sentence as heard] These are enormous problems and so that you will understand—for those who asked—I am doing everything, I am making a superhuman effort to prevent this for happening, however, they do not keep up with me. They are late, they do not listen to me, or they do not do anything. But who gave me these people? Who made the elections? Who gambled on them? You did by not going to vote or by the way you voted. And that is what they are doing on your behalf. Find better ones so that at the next elections, which will be held at the scheduled time, I hope, people will finally be elected who really solve your problems. I solve everything as far as my strength and intelligence permits. I have not betrayed you, I have not left, I have not forgotten. Only I am building a system in which many people did not pass the exam earlier and are not passing them today.

[Correspondent] Let's change the subject for a moment.

[Question] Mr. president, I would like to ask when you are going to Germany. I heard that you are going this month, and I would like you to raise the question of damages for Poles who worked during World War II (?with the Germans).

[Walesa] Yes, I am leaving on the evening of 29 March. I am coming back on Thursday with God's help and I am well briefed on all these subjects. I am taking a good team of people for the talks. We will arrange all the issues, both political and economic, which Poles have raised and which we are aware of.

[Correspondent] One more issue connected with the previous question.

[Question] The Gdansk milieu of former political prisoners in Nazi concentration camps and Gestapo prisons have received from the Maksymilian Kolbe Berg German charity organization, which has been helping Polish victims of Nazism for 20 years, gifts in the form of [words indistinct] warmers, knee supports, varicose veins stockings, and orthopedic shoes. All gifts for the bedridden. Naturally they are gifts made free of charge providing medical help exclusively for elderly people. This is the first time in the history of the work of Maksymilian Kolbe Berg in Poland that the customs office on Oliwska Street has imposed a 25 percent turnover tax on a charity gift for the victims of Nazism, which the second treasury office on Kolobrzeska Street has estimated at Z250 million.

[Correspondent] This is perhaps a one-off problem but we wanted to convey it to you.

[Walesa] I can only say: Long live democracy, long live wisdom, long live sensible officials. And you know what you are doing.

[Correspondent] And now to something about officials but not our officials.

[Question] I have a basic question: Do you and Foreign Minister Skubiszewski know about the manner in which Poles are treated by officials at the U.S. Embassy when people apply to travel to the United States?

[Walesa] Sir, I have not heard any particular observations, as I do not stand in line there, and others do not get through to me. If I hear about something worrying or something which requires the president's intervention, I am at your disposal. And I will do everything to ensure that Poles everywhere are treated with dignity, seriously, and with maximum honesty.

[Correspondent] We have been speaking here of the problems, but we also had questions, telephone calls from listeners in fact, not only with complaints but with proposals.

[Question] My name is Engineer Jerzy Brodkowski, from Gdynia. The president said, "Give me ideas," so I sent in a package of ideas containing economic proposals,

including about universal privatization and the mobilization of large-scale resources, to the order of Z300 billion. I presented this proposal to other institutions as well, and I received replies that were to a certain extent positive, and even very positive. Meanwhile, over six months have now passed, and I have received no concrete reply from the president.

[Walesa] You know very well that the president has quite a large group of people that deal with economic matters. Kozakiewicz is responsible in my office, and I will check up on this, because there must be a reply to every question, or to every letter. You see, I do not have such a large office. I receive over 6,000 letters monthly. I am buried in letters and that is why, that is why perhaps things might get stuck somewhere, something is perhaps waiting its turn. Perhaps, if these were intelligent problems that demand greater consideration and went to the place where they are discussing it or considering it. I will check this. I state once more, there will be a reply to all letters; only, well, this requires time. It is worse with the letters to my wife. She also receives a lot of them and does not have the resources and is not able to reply to them. I am wondering, for many people....

[Correspondent interrupts] Does she (?contribute).

[Walesa] My wife reads them but is not able to reply. I hear voices asking: What are they thinking of now, the signing of letters by the wife? So, I state to you publicly: In the current situation, my wife cannot reply and will not reply to letters, because she has neither the strength nor the resources and is not able to reply to 200 letters a day, however much she might want to. We have put this problem to the Chancellery, let them consider it. Either they will issue a public statement, known everywhere, for no one to write to my wife, for she is not able to rise to this task even if she wishes to.

[Correspondent] Here are the proposals from our listeners.

[Question] Mr. president, along the shore of the Baltic there are unexploited towers along the Polish border that once served the army in observing the waters of the Baltic. Woe to him who destroys them. You, as an electrician, know that they are suitable to be fitted out as windmills to generate power. I feel, and I am also an electrician, that if they were to just borrowed for three years, perhaps for four, with current generating equipment, after three years of use they would bring profit for the whole economy and Poland could pay them off. This is a realistic matter, and please take an interest in this.

[Walesa] As an electrician I will do this very quickly, and I will of course do everything for this to be exploited, for the idea is good. I do not know the technicalities, but as an electrician I will very much concern myself, for I see that you have made a good observation.

[Question] Good day, Urszula Statkiewicz, Konstancin near Warsaw. Despite the many changes in our fatherland, the owners of houses under special rents are still—for over 50 years now—expropriated. They cannot dispose of their property, establish a rent that would assure the maintenance of the house in the appropriate condition. I would wish to ask when will the owners of these houses have the rights to their ownership restored to them equal to the rights of other owners?

[Walesa] Dear lady, you know well that I am doing everything regarding this issue to pull that period apart. Only, you see, this is a bit of a problem. It is good that your house was not hit by a bomb before the reform. And it should be restored. But how to restore it to someone who was struck by a bomb? And he hasn't got it? He had it too, and now he hasn't. And so? You will say, well, I was lucky earlier on. This is not a lottery. This must be resolved intelligently. On the other hand, I want to say to you that this is an awful problem. I have been caught out on these villas in which I lived in Warsaw. When I said that I will do everything for these villas to be restored then the owners said: If they get $100,000 they will be satisfied. When we put the matter forward, when we started to hand funds over, then Z2 million was not enough. And so, the owners do not always understand poor Poland. And that is why I have been caught out on these ownerships. And that is why I am careful. I will seek an exchange, to see this issue regulated. But I will also demand that we understand those on whom even greater misfortune has fallen. This must be done justly and decisively, but take into account the possibilities of this country.

[Correspondent] We have also had a telephone call like this:

[Question] Why are Poles from beyond the River Bug deemed to be worse Poles than Poles resident in the present borders, who have the opportunity to regain their property. Poles from beyond the Bug are told that there are no resources for this and that they will not get anything.

[Walesa] And so, this is a similar matter to that lady whose house survived and another lady whose house was destroyed by a bomb. Thus these people left their possessions over there and we are giving them back over here. This is unfair but that is how it is—difficult. I will try to find a golden path which will bring some form of equilibrium and which will be as fair as possible. But I beg for your understanding; I also ask for understanding for someone who has been living in a house for 20 or 40 years. One cannot just come to him and throw him out. A solution has to be found regarding where he will go—because his house no longer exists, or he has spent all his life in a particular house. So help to make a wise law which will give it back to the owners, but understand the capabilities of this country and let us work to achieve good solutions. We are seeking them but take into account how people are behaving.

[Correspondent] Mr. president, perhaps we could return to economic matters.

[Question] When will the bank interest rates go down for investments, production projects, investments for production, so that bankers do not make fortunes and Polish factories go under and so that there will not be masses of unemployed? My next question is: When will prices stabilize on our so-called darling free market? At the moment the opinion is that despite the mass of goods, the avalanche of goods, among them German ones and western ones—there are loads of them—mafias are bumping up the prices despite the fact that there is an excess of goods.

[Walesa] Well I view these problems truly with disquiet. A farmer is paid Z1,000 for a liter of milk and they take Z6,000 when they sell it. This is a racket! This is a bunch of thieves. But people, there is only one answer: You must organize yourselves and by-pass them. The president on his own will not be able to bypass them.

I say something else: In Poland, which is applying the same principles as the rest of the world—well are the principles going to pass the test in Poland or not? I am quite sure that the answer is yes, but I am also certain that Rome was not built in a day. This is the price we are paying for an evolutionary passage to normality: one could have moved everything aside in a revolutionary fashion, locked people up, shot them, made another kind of film, and solved things in this way; and one could also have done it through the roundtable, without firing shots, without a fire. But pay one must.

We will pay less, we will do things faster, but not in a situation in which half the people do not go to vote, in a situation in which they wait for the president to deal with things on behalf of the parliament, on behalf of the government, and in which only he is the creator of all these ills.

When we finally take ourselves in hand then, now, immediately, as soon as I get back from Germany, I will give myself over entirely to encouraging the village elders of parishes, farmers from small villages. (?I will smoke out) all those who take money. But I will not do your work for you. I am expecting a strong shake-up on all our parts and a setting down to work by all those who take money. The reactivation of all of you is the only chance for things in Poland to go faster, better, more lawfully, and at greater speed.

[Correspondent] The president has in fact already replied to the question that we will present in a moment, but it is probably worth presenting it if only for the fact that there were many like it. It also relates to the pathology of our economy.

[Question] Mr. president, would it not be appropriate to take an interest in the companies that change their names every year, remaining at the same headquarters, thereby escaping tax?

[Walesa] Dear lady, I notice this in a deeper way. We really do not love our country, we really see that someone has circumvented the law, is circumventing the customs officer, is taking advantage in this way. And we look on, and we do not react to this. After all, the president will not catch every charlatan. The president will not resolve these problems. Finally, get to feel that this is your country, that when someone steals from anyone, what does he steal for? That when he cheats, circumvents things in such a way, he must immediately be made accountable. Because indirectly, he is stealing from us, for he does not pay taxes. There is no money for schools, no money for hospitals. Are there such taxes today, such interest rates for this reason? I know that people, precisely through crooked behavior, post-communist crooked behavior, do circumvent and cheat. And we in our entire mass, in our greater mass, look on and say that the president will fix it. This must be addressed, this must not be permitted. Everywhere, in every place, whoever takes one penny from the Polish table takes it from you and from the president.

[Correspondent] Mr. president, from matters of the economy let us perhaps return to the Belweder Palace.

[Question] How long will the president show himself with Father Cybula on television? Privately, he can do what he likes with him. On the other hand, I protest against him showing himself publicly on television. The office of the president is a serious one and he cannot play with this office. The second matter: Why has the president built up his administration so grossly? And it is well known that the cost of maintaining this administration falls on the shoulders of, of course, the whole nation.

[Walesa] I do not know whether you have seen this development. I do not know whether you have heard, whether you have read this in that vile newspaper [not specified], and you tell such nonsense. I have 100 people less than last year. I will probably reduce it further, because I will try to do greater things with a smaller crew. And now, if you speak of seriousness, when you see the church, when you see a priest, then I would wish that you be as serious as that institution which has lasted for 1,000 years. That is the first thing, but in my philosophy I want to say something else, sir. I would wish that all the social forces in Poland, organized and not organized, but especially the organized ones, and especially a social force such as the Church, be able to cooperate and work for Poland in this same direction, while retaining their place in the ranks. I see this policy enabling me, through my participation, to fulfill my role, but I repeat, just my role well. [as heard] The exclusion of the 1,000-year Polish tradition, not allowing it to look at that which is going on in Poland, creates such errors as we have. I am not at all saying that the church has the urge or wants to take part and manipulate political forces. This is untrue. You know the church from the middle ages when indeed some political matters were fixed by it, and you think that the church today has the urge for these activities. Sir, you are in error. Participation, and knowledge of a place in the ranks is a great achievement, and it is necessary to do precisely this. And we will achieve a place in the ranks.

[Correspondent] One listener does not like the Belweder Palace, another the Senate.

[Question] I wanted to find out whether the president envisages the liquidation of one of the chambers of parliament, that is the Senate, which society absolutely regards as unnecessary, and the reduction of the number of deputies to the Seam to around 260, as their long-windedness is appalling, and exceeds the costs that at the present moment do not at all help in maintaining our state. And such deputies as Niesielowski and Lopuszanski only discuss where to build chapels and crosses and talk about abortion.

[Walesa] Please sir, if you have got such social power and are speaking for society, then use it and do that. However, I am not convinced if that will get through parliament, get through the Polish public. That is why you should not appeal to society as even I can appeal to it increasingly less. [sentence as heard] These are debatable issues, various reorganizations are necessary, but that is not for the president. It is a free country, in various ways democratic, and it can change many things. If it changes, the president will see to it that they are in accord with the will of the nation and with legal, logical, and democratic changes, honored and solved.

[Correspondent] Our listeners not only worry about the Belweder and the Senate but also about the political position of the president.

[Question] How does the president see his political position when he steps down from the position of president of the republic? How would that position look according to the president if you were to step down now?

[Walesa] I am going to remind you of something which you and others will not like. I really did not want to be president but I had to be president, because I fought that battle and led to victory, and I deeply believe I will lead to ultimate victory. Today, I am not canvassing for electoral points. Today I am not try to flatter you, society, or the elites. Today I propose, I provoke, encourage, because only in that way can we jointly change the Polish home. If I am going to want to run for a second term of office, well, then I am going to have to try. I promised you I would promote a certain idea and I am standing on my head to implement it, but when I step down that will be the happiest day in my life, because I did not come here to make a career, I did not come for the position, I only came together with you to lead to victory. I do not like it at all, in fact I hate it.

[Question] Would you, on your own initiative, be able to meet all forces in Poland to draw up or come to agreement on some kind of program which would promote (?peace and trust in Poland)?

[Walesa] Sir, naturally I have done many things and will continue to. However, let's understand the philosophy. After all, if we were to permit the Solidarity monopoly to win, then we would not have built democracy, there would not have been any pluralism. It would have been a case of replacing one and erasing the other. I did all this with premeditation, only I counted on your greater involvement and possibilities. However, the elites did not go down, did not build, did not follow my line of thought; and that is why we have problems today, and today they are setting down sofas in order to join this together rather than to broaden this or build it up. [sentence as heard]

I repeat once again: Poland must be normal, a country in which there will be organizations, not great heroes—Walesa among them. I might have been great, had a great organization. But why do you think I did this? Was it for people who overslept, who were too late, or who joined certain cliques and then left them, who could take part in the construction work so that no extra-strong force should stand in their way? For what is democracy? It is a break- through to implementation—up as far as the president himself—by wise people of good programs. That is what democracy is for. But it has to be allowed to work for some length of time. For the time being, our democracy has been saddled with many extra matters, especially economic ones, and this makes things very difficult for us. But about what is happening I say differently: this is a normal thing in the abnormal situation in which we have found ourselves. One must go forward; one must take heart and come to grips with organizational work in order to defend our own, as much as the unemployed, as those which do not like the president, the parliament, and the others. And it is for this that we fought, all together.

[Question] Will Lech Walesa, the president of the Polish Republic, a democratic and legal state, dismiss from his post of deputy minister someone who is a British subject? That is my first question. And the second is: On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of General Maczek will the president give his opinion on the proposal of citizens to grant him the title of marshal?

[Walesa] Sir, I respect the general very much and hold him in high esteem. I shall do everything to ensure that—for all he has done for Poland, for his heroism, his patriotism—he should receive the highest possible honors and promotions. But there are certain legal problems which have been explained to me: We are too late. But back to the first question.

[Correspondent] It was about [Deputy Defense Minister] Sikorski.

[Walesa] I have held a few conversations with the premier about this and obviously it is a slightly complicated situation, but I think that together with the premier, at least in my competence I am going to maintain logic and wisdom in this ministry; but you cannot do everything at any one moment. We will see straight after my return from Germany, we will be returning to these subjects again by considering all the variants, becuase opinions are a little divided on military questions.

[Correspondent] And one more question which has been just been conveyed to us by our colleagues.

[Question] Marek [name indistinct]: I have two questions to you, Mr. president. The first: What was the last present you gave to your godson, Michnik Junior [Adam Michnik's son]? And the second: Has the Citizens Foundation already returned to the Presidential Chancellery the Z160 million [funds borrowed for election campaign by Center Alliance] which it borrowed some time ago?

[Walesa] If we are talking about the second question, I think that people from the foundation, from the Citizens Committee who today hold positions, will collapse. I have in mind those men whom you all know. I am waiting for the accounting to be done, for the money to be repaid. I will do everything so that it is repaid.

[Correspondent] Michnik Junior.

[Walesa, laughing] Michnik junior. Naturally I have lot of godsons and goddaughters, and I have told each one who has become my godchild: That is good, you are going to have a famous godfather. However, he probably will not be able to give up much of his time and possibilities for you. Therefore, forgive me in advance, I agree because as a Christian I am not allowed to refuse. However, do not count on greater involvement as the president has not even got time for his wife and children, and for so many godchildren even less. Another solution would be not to agree, but, as I have said, this does not have very good associations in Christianity. And thus I think that my godson called Michnik does not have any great problems. His father has a good paper, he is prospering well. He also has other activities. He is a speaker as you know—as you remember, he was adamant he could never be a speaker [reference to Michnik's very bad stammer]. However, I said he was going to be, and he is, and that is also extra cash. Thus, all is well for him. If it were bad his Godfather would try to help him.

[Correspondent] Mr. president, the hour with you is coming to an end. In conclusion, briefly on international issues. Questions in letters connected first with your visit to Germany: What can you promise from this visit? And our listeners are awaiting with great interest for the visit to Russia.

[Walesa] If we are talking about the Germans—and as you know, Walesa likes to big things—this is what I can say: He is rubbing a lot of people up the wrong way by his visit; I mean to do great things, I mean to prove that Germany has a greater interest in the east than Poland has; I mean to open a new era in the history of Europe and of European unity; so, I mean to do many things although they will cause me many problems. But, that is what my life has always been like: I have always had problems and I will probably have them until the end.

[Correspondent] Will you also have problems in Russia?

[Walesa] In Russia I also expect great problems. As you know, as our society knows, there is a great tragedy there. Walesa was not listened to. Several years ago I said—I was the first politician to do so—that one must act as quickly as possible to organize solutions for the Soviet Union, to unite it again on the basis of new principles, without, it must be remembered, breaking the economic ties in a revolutionary way but in an evolutionary way. Once again Walesa was not heeded. They brought about an extreme situation, an economic break-down which is having a painful effect especially on Poland but also on almost the whole world, but particularly on Poland.

In this connection, I will try to see that this visit takes place, but today Poland needs visits which are more practical. That is, visits by ministers, company directors—because these visits bring immediate solutions, immediately link the economy and promote cooperation; they bring benefits. As a practical person, I would like to pay as few visits as possible which do not bring immediate benefits. That is why I avoid visits. I have an awful lot of them, I avoid travels. I prefer to send specialists because Poland so very badly needs results, cooperation, sales of goods, and it is these people, above all, who should travel.

[Correspondent I thank the president very much for his visit to the studio in Gdansk. And now Minister Drzycimski [presidential spokesman].

[Drzycimski] Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, there have been very many letters, as we can see here. Colleagues are also passing on a great many. All the letters which contain addresses will receive replies. However, those where there are no addresses, and which have only been sent for information—well, unfortunately we will not be able to reply to them.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. From the Gdansk Studio President of the Republic Lech Walesa answered questions from listeners of Polish Radio's First Program and Radio Gdansk.

[Walesa] I would like to meet you again in a month's time, ladies and gentlemen. We shall see if there will be new subjects.

[Correspondent] We invite you.

National Salvation Front Holds Third Convention

Roman Opens Proceedings

AU2703143692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] This morning, at the Polivalenta Hall in Bucharest, Petre Roman opened the proceedings of the third National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. [passage omitted]

In the first part of the session, Mr. Petre Roman proposed the adoption of a statement to the nation on the anniversary of Bessarabia's unification with the country, which he read himself. Here follow recorded portions of that statement.

[Begin Roman recording] Seventy-four years ago, through the will of the Romanians of Bessarabia, an ancient Romanian land, a basic historical act for the achievement of our people's striving for national unity took place, namely its unification with the country. The act of national dignity of 27 March 1918 was the result of unflinching determination and love for the country that rise above the historical injustice that erected walls between the Romanians in their own country. The FSN states that national unification is a consistent target of its policy, conceived and implemented on the basis of the Romanian nation's cultural and historical unity and of the realities in which we live.

For more than 50 years, Bessarabia's Romanians have never deviated, not even one step, from the principles of national unity, in spite of the oppression imposed by the communist Soviet empire and by Stalinist persecution and of the policy of deprivation of their national awareness. Therefore now—when more nations of a new Europe have brought down communist totalitarianism and imperialism and opened up the road to democracy and freedom—the FSN does not admit and will never permit the security of the population of the Republic of Moldova to be jeopardized. [applause]

This determination of ours finds support and endorsement in the unanimous democratic choice of today's Europe. Romania, through its international representations and diplomatic relations, must turn to the international community and the collective security bodies and denounce the violence and all kinds of pressures exerted on the population in Moldova. Now, more then ever before, we are justified by history and the sorrow in our hearts in preventing such a course, so as not to be faced with a serious fait accompli. We can say, in full awareness of the facts, that we have this one duty, even if it means sacrifices, if required. [applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] The statement was submitted to the convention for endorsement and was adopted unanimously. Then, Mr. Petre Roman presented a report on the current policies of the FSN, which emphasizes, among other things: the chance for a dignified national policy in our country—the chance for an honest policy, for the benefit of the public—which depends on the FSN. This chance resides in the Front's experience as a democratic party for Romania's renewal—end quote. In this respect, the report points out that democracy and lies are incompatible. Nobody should talk on behalf of the many, that is, the people; the people, the many, should speak for themselves. The report condemns the attempts of the old communist structures to influence, (?incapacitate) the Front, and even sequester it. Now, these outdated communist structures are trying to disorganize and destroy our party, Mr. Petre Roman said. The party's evolution shows that the process of democratization takes precedence over all internal difficulties and outside vicissitudes. The political purpose of the FSN is the country's renewal, but the right to further assume responsibility for that goal derives from the trust placed in us by the country in a democratic way.

In his report, Mr. Petre Roman pointed out the problems facing the Front and defined the goals of that political grouping. The Front must address itself to the people and give them solutions and answers to their problems, which derive from this period of transition and change and negatively affect their prospects. The reform programs must be launched after a careful consideration of the social effects of the ongoing changes in the transition period. One should promote the principle of equal opportunity and promote the will for social solidarity.

In conclusion, Mr. Petre Roman said that whole generations had been submitted to odious propaganda that eliminated and estranged from the people's education such notions as responsibility for one's fate and the taking of necessary risks to overcome hardships. To learn now the meaning of responsibility and discipline and that each one of us can take his fate into his own hands and build a better life would mean to lay the foundation for both democracy and prosperity.

In accordance with the agenda, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica, the party's executive president, then presented a report on the FSN's government performance.

Stoica Assesses Roman's Government

AU2703160192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1517 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1992—The report on Roman's governing read during the FSN [National Salvation Front] National Convention by the Front's executive chairman, Ion Aurel Stoica, shows that now there are two diametrically opposed aspects of the matter, neither being based on rigorous analysis. Referring to the post-revolutionary economic and social situation, the report points to the fact that the legitimate government after May 20, 1990 launched the economic reform according to a substantive and efficient programme. It also mentioned the measures and actions Roman's government took just as its legislative, fiscal and economic initiatives for the establishment of a state of law and market economy. Mr. Stoica underlined certain shortcomings the ex-premier showed because "he did not

explain step-by-step to people what the immediate effects of the reform could be."

Talks Held in 'Polemic Atmosphere'

AU2703172192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] The National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] is continuing its proceedings at this time in a vivid and polemic atmosphere. The participants are discussing the reports presented in the morning and afternoon, as well as questions concerning this political formation. The proceedings are presided over by Mr. Petre Roman, who presented the report on the Front's current political affairs.

Since our last newscast, the floor has been taken by Constantin Sorescu, Gheorghe Scortan, Ilie Platica, Ion Soltan, Vladimir Pasti, Victor Bostinaru, and Ion Mihut. The speakers talked about Roman's government performance, the activity carried out by the Front during that period, and about the fact that the party is going through a serious political and credibility crisis and that the three motions which will be presented threaten to divide the Front into three camps, although they actually present a single political program given their complementary nature.

The speakers also emphasized that the Front was marred from within by the Iliescu-Roman conflict, which caused great harm to the party's credibility among the population. On the other hand, the majority of the speakers said that, at this time, the only party capable of leading the country is the FSN and they appealed for its unity.

The speakers also stressed the need to outline the Front's position toward communism and the former ideologies more clearly. They criticized the fact that the Front's only political alliance—the Charter for Reform and Democracy—was not capitalized on. This ruined the chance of promoting the Front's reform program for cooperation with other political formations.

The view was expressed that the unsatisfactory results achieved by the Roman government in certain areas are due to the structure of the government, which included specialists and technocrats, and not politicians. Some of the speakers said that it is easy to accuse the Front of a lack of accomplishments and mistakes, while those who voice such criticism did not intervene and did not contribute to preventing shortfalls or to changing the trend of the activity carried out within the government and party.

Roman Accused of Demagogy

AU2703194392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The second part of the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] continued in the afternoon with discussions on the reports presented in the first part of the proceedings. [passage omitted]

From what the speakers said in their speeches, we learned that the Front was born as a sentimental relationship that found a common denominator in its first political platform. Today both the right and the extreme left know very well what they want. This is why the Front should have no vacant places, because, they would surely be taken by these sides.

As far as the unity of the Front is concerned, this is not only a problem of the party, but also a problem of the whole country. In this context, the election campaign has to be properly organized with modern means in order to achieve victory in the general elections.

Esteemed listeners, we want to draw attention to Mr. Petre Turlea's statement, namely that as far as the nationality issue is concerned, Mr. Petre Roman's attitude was a demagogic one and the situation of the Romanians in the Counties of Harghita and Covasna deteriorated during his government term. This affirmation produced a noisy response and applause, which interrupted the speaker several times.

In response to Mr. Turlea's request that Mr. Petre Roman leave the Front, if he places personal interests above the interests of the country and of the party, there were vociferations and protests in the hall.

Another speaker, Mr. Constantin Popa, harshly criticized the demagogy of some of the Front's leadership members, who have resorted to methods characteristic of 1950 and 1960, to letters that unjustly denounced people, and to extremist actions in order to undermine the Front. Direct reference was made to the actions and interventions by Messrs. Petre Turlea, Vasile Vacaru, and Petre Ninosu.

The last speaker this evening, Mr. Vasile Ilie, once again stressed the need for unity and the importance of thoroughly preparing the election campaign on the basis of a coherent and uniform program providing solutions to the problems facing our country today.

The proceedings of the first day of the FSN National Convention ended 20 minutes ago. Tomorrow the participants in the Convention will meet at 0700 GMT. The three motions will be presented and discussions, commentaries, and assessments of these documents will be made.

Enache Denies Parliamentary Group Split

AU2703195092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1992—During its second session of Friday, March 27, the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] heard the reports of this party's groups in the Assembly of Deputies and in the Senate read by Marian Enache and Vasile Vacaru respectively.

Assessing the activity of the FSN group in the Assembly of Deputies Marin Enache labelled as "false" the thesis

on the division of the FSN parliamentarians into "reformists and conservatives" uttered by national leader Petre Roman, considering it as "the bone of contention placed within the Front."

Senator Vasile Vacaru's report actually presented the process of scission of the Front which started, according to the speaker, in the autumn of 1990.

The numerous addresses on the reports read Friday were marked by accusations by representatives of various tendencies manifest within the Front, as well as by emphasis on the need to maintain the unity of this party which rules in Romania in the wake of the May 20, 1990 elections.

The convention continues.

Members To Vote on Three Motions

AU2803154592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] The second day of the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] began in Bucharest today with Mr. Petre Roman announcing the arrival of some messages addressed to the convention by some parties from abroad. The message on behalf of the Spanish Socialist Party was presented by Mr. Santiago Perez, while the messages received on behalf of the French Socialist Party and Belgian Socialist Party were read by Mr. Petre Roman. The messages state that the transition process in Romania is followed with keen interest and they convey wishes for success to the proceedings of the FSN National Convention.

After the messages were presented, Mr. Dan Iosif asked to be permitted to take the floor. He firmly demanded that those who remind us of communism and the former structures no longer be part of the future FSN leadership, even if the motion, which will be endorsed by secret ballot, is backed by them. Let us preserve people without a blemished past in the Front's leadership, Mr. Dan Iosif said, while those who made mistakes should be punished by no longer being reelected.

The proceedings are presided over by Mr. Dragos Berceanu. The three motions are being presented and will be submitted to the Front's National Convention to be voted on, our reporters have informed us.

The motion entitled A Modern Social Democratic Program of Thinking and Action for Romania Today worked out by the Group for FSN Unity and presented by Messrs. Ioan Solcanu, Laurentiu Pricop, and Alexandru Albu defines—in six chapters—the program- platform of that group. Starting from the definition of modern social-democracy and from a critical examination of the party's current situation, the Group for FSN Unity believes that it is imperatively necessary to overcome the party's acute identity crisis and that this is possible only by a democratic restructuring of its program, statute, and structures.

Stressing that as a center-left party the FSN has to organize and carry out its internal activity at all levels in keeping with the principles of consistent democracy, by defining its views and programmatic direction through a free exchange of opinions, the Group for FSN Unity admits the diversity of opinions and trends within the party, including within the regional and national conventions.

The Future Today motion was then presented, which was described by Mr. Petre Roman as a political program that provides solutions and militates for action, for the creation of a civilized and modern Romania.

The convention proceedings are taking place today under the sign of the three motions. Thus, our reporters have noted that there are three inscriptions on the presidium table belonging to the groups that are presenting the motions and that the presidium members have taken their seats in accordance with these motions.

Groups Present, Contemplate Motions

AU2803155792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The first part of the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] is devoted to the presentation and discussion of the three motions. [passage omitted]

The Future Today motion, bearing the subtitle A Place for Everybody, a Country for All was presented. Describing this motion as a political program that clearly assesses the relationship between possibility and reality, Mr. Petre Roman emphasized that it is the result of a political experience that was gained under difficult conditions, and the result of intellectual efforts, and of the responsibility that the FSN has to assume at this time.

Currently Romania is the Romania of a political-economic transition, the motion affirms, and within this context the FSN believes that the changes in the country and those within the Front have to be more obvious and distinctive.

Messrs. Eugen Dijmarescu, Adrian Severin, Gheorghe Muresan, Aurel Stoica, and Caius Dragomir outlined the economic policy options and the measures for social protection, the political and reform mechanisms, as well as the restructuring process in agriculture, and the foreign policy principles stipulated in the Future Today motion. This motion was summarized as follows, quote: Well-being, social justice through democracy, freedom, and law, unquote.

Stressing that democracy is compatible with the effectiveness of political action and that freedom is compatible with social order and justice, the Future Today motion proposes—the speakers also said—a road to a modern European society in which privatization is not a purpose in itself, but a political process in which social security has a well-defined place and in which pace is an

essential element of the transition process—these being the characteristic features of a social-democratic policy.

For Genuine Change is the title of the third motion, which is being presented at this time by the group Future for Romania. To appraise this motion, Mr. Vladimir Pasti took the floor, specifying that the reform presupposes a correlation between the market economy and development, while the political factor is to check and shape this process, our reporters have informed us. The Future for Romania group proposes a realistic political program that rejects demagogy, and it proposes a political and not neutral and technocratic program for governing. This fact is affirmed in the first chapter of that motion.

The current situation of the FSN and of Romania are the subjects dealt with in the following two chapters, while the basic options of the Front are discussed and backed in the final chapter of the motion For a Genuine Change. In the economic area, it is emphasized that the National Salvation Front opts for a social market economy, which, however, cannot constitute a real chance for Romania unless the state can directly intervene in the economy. However, a state of social protection has to be built in which mechanisms for secure redistribution permits the protection of the population against the social costs of the reform. The motion of the Future for Romania group claims to be a social democratic program that bears in mind European integration.

In connection with the three motions, several speakers emphasized that essentially speaking, the substance of the programs presented does not differ and that the differences among them consist in the methods and forms that are to be used—rhythm, speed, processes, and phenomena in implementing the reform and the objectives of the transition period, stated our reporters, who will provide further details later.

Ballot Preparations Under Way

AU2803164092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] continued today with the—occasionally polemic—presentation of the three motions submitted for the participants' endorsement. [passage omitted]

A few moments ago, before the voting on the three motions, it was announced that the Group for the Front's Unity and the group Future for Romania decided to have Mr. Marian Enache as sole leader. Mr. Petre Roman is the leader of the Future Today group.

The election of a common leader—in the person of Mr. Marian Enache—for two groups that presented different motions gave rise to strong protests from among the delegates belonging to the Future Today group. The ballot could not be held because the delegates demanded that the Presidium members return to the hall to explain how this situation—considered as running contrary to the statute's provisions—could develop. Mr. Petre Roman called on the participants in the convention to remain calm and asked them to vote for one or another motion. At this time, last minute preparations for the ballot are under way.

Roman's Group Wins Majority

AU2803181692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] We begin with a news item from the Polivalenta Hall in Bucharest, the hall where the National Convention of the National Salvation Front is taking place. A few minutes ago, the result of voting on the three motions presented by the delegates was announced. The motion of the group A Future Today—A Place for Everybody, A Country for All, with Mr. Petre Roman as leader, won a comfortable majority—out of 1,253 valid votes, 802 were in favor of the motion of the Future Today group, which means 64 percent of the overall valid votes. Further details will be reported later.

Roman Assesses Ballot Results

AU2803211692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/3/1992—Saturday [28 March] afternoon the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] continued its works. The debates were stormy, with certain vehement accents produced by the groups within this political party. The political struggle lay actually in the confrontation between the three motions representing the groups' outlooks.

After the ballot, Roman's motion titled "Future Today" won 802 of the 1,268 votes, which accounts for 64 per cent. The motion "For a True Change" won 261 votes (20.8 per cent), while the motion "For Present-Day Romania" 190 votes (15.2 per cent).

The FSN National Convention resumes works Sunday [29 March] morning.

After the results of the ballot had been announced, Mr. Petre Roman addressed the participants in the National Convention saying, among other things: I am fully convinced that this result means a victory for the party that shares most of the hopes and the Romanian people's confidence. Today the party won because we have a clear political line and this line is a programme which now we have the strength to bring before the country head high, because we know it can lead us to an electoral victory, because it has shown justice and truth. What happened in the two days and particularly today shows that our party is able to compare with itself. We do not have the right to exclude anybody...."

Roman Comments on Victory

AU2803215292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Mar 92

["Exclusive" interview with Petre Roman, national leader of the National Salvation Front by unidentified correspondent in Bucharest on 28 March—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Petre Roman, we would like you to comment—exclusively for the Radio Romania Current Events program—on the result of the vote, that is the result of the winning vote, since the Future Today motion emerged victorious today at the national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN].

[Roman] First of all, this result defines the party's political program, meaning that the party is ready to take up its responsibilities in Romanian society. I have full trust in this program, which, of course, is the program that I, together with our group, have submitted to the National Convention. I am very contented and happy that, through its entire unfolding—during the meeting itself I called it the battle we had to wage to reach this point—the party has managed to clarify its position and to truly project its political image.

[Correspondent] Should we infer that the party is practically at the start of a new road?

[Roman] This program shows that we can now proceed—from the state of legality, which we have achieved through the process of reform thus far—to the actual implementation of the reform. This is what people expect from us. This is actually the message of this program. However, the program also included a political clarification, namely, what this party stands for; what its basic ideas are; how it relates to Romanian society, to the modern world, to Romania's long-standing traditions, and to Romania's meaning for the world at large; and what way we should choose to ensure that Romania joins the modern and great nations of the world. This is the meaning of the program, which undoubtedly marks a clear-cut break with the past. I consider this victory as very important for the Front. It makes a true, clean, and clear-cut break with the past, opting for change. Therefore, the Front is today at the start of a new road, has actually embarked upon such a road, and is capable of going the distance, simply because this change has occurred.

Ruse Reads Statute Commission's Report

AU2903094992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0800 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] The National Salvation Front [FSN] National Convention resumed this morning in Bucharest.

Today's session began with the report of the Commission for the Statute read by Corneliu Ruse. The speaker announced that out of the 55 articles of the FSN Statute, grouped in eight chapters, 52 articles were approved in principle and three will be formulated during the convention. Submitted to discussions and the approval of the convention, the provisions of the statute were amended with numerous proposals by the participants. Many of the proposed amendments were approved through open vote. Discussions occasioned by the voting of the statute are in full progress and although often noisy, they do not have a strong controversial tone.

Among the statute provisions our reporters note the one that says that the motion adopted by the convention will become the FSN platform program and the leader of the group which proposed the motion will become the president of this political group.

Conference Ends; Roman Remains Leader

AU2903125292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] The proceedings of the National Salvation Front [FSN] National Convention concluded approximately one half hour ago. There have been three days of often heated, tense, and controversial discussions, during which three motions, advanced by certain groups within the Front, were submitted to a vote. The motion "The Future Today" of the group led by Petre Roman won with a comfortable majority.

Today the proceedings have been devoted to discussions and the endorsement of the FSN statute. After the report of the Statute Commission was read, the participants discussed, amended, and voted on each chapter of the document. In accordance with a paragraph in Article 25, it is stipulated that the winning motion will become the FSN platform-program and the leader of the group that proposed the motion will become the president of the party.

When the moment of voting on Article 4, entitled "Candidacy to Romania's Presidency," was reached, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica asked to address the audience. In his address, the speaker said that the representatives of the winning motion "The Future Today" agree that Mr. Iliescu should advance his candidacy to be elected to the position of Romania's president. However, in order to have our say in connection with his candidacy, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica said, it means to ignore the consequences and—the last but not the least idea—it means that we would do him a disfavor. Likewise, we should take into account the fact that Mr. Ion Iliescu still has not announced his candidacy and, on the other hand, at this moment neither the date of presidential elections nor whether they coincide with general elections is known, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica added.

After this address, Mr. Vasile Vacaru, the leader of the FSN parliamentary group in the Senate, quoting the last paragraph—that is Article 41, which says that Romania's president, former FSN candidate, needs only the investiture of the National Convention—asked the delegates

present in the hall to make a decision regarding Mr. Ion Iliescu's candidacy to the position of Romania's president.

After the statute was adopted, Mr. Mircea Pascu and Ionel Roman asked to address the audience.

Here is this recorded moment:

[Begin recording] [Pascu] I would like to make an announcement on behalf of our group in connection with this offer, and to tell you that our group will not take up this offer. Thank you very much for it. [applause]

I would like to express at least two reasons why we have made this decision: The first is that because one person in the Steering Collegium—which will probably have at least 300 people—does not reflect the 20 percent proportion in this convention that we have won. As a matter of fact, the statute stipulates another situation. The second issue: Taking into consideration that if our number was the one that we have had during the current National Convention and the present Steering Collegium and the maximum result that we could reach with our motion was the one that we had, then we believe that the presence of a single person in the next national convention will not be able to ensure any change to a motion that we present. For this reason...[noise masks Pascu]

[Petre Roman, interrupting] Please, please...

[Pascu] For this reason we believe that the acceptance of this place represents only a superficial issue and has no practical value whatsoever. In order to express thank, for the generosity of the elected Steering Collegium, or better said the leading bodies' generosity toward us, we give up this place—if we have such a right—to the winning motion in order to make easier the implementation of the program proposed by you. Thank you. [applause]

[Petre Roman] What Mr. Pascu has said is correct, however, you should know that there is a principle in life from which it is very wrong to depart. [Words indistinct] something, but what you give, you will not. [applause]

[Pascu] I believe you, Mr. Roman. Maybe what you say is true. Nevertheless, we have another opinion. [applause]

[Petre Roman] Good, I agree.

[Ionel Roman] Mr. President, on behalf of the Group for the Unity of the Front, we take the same position because we do not want to cause a split in the Front. Our initiative was to keep the Front united, and from this point of view we also give up this place to the winning group. [applause]

[Petre Roman] Thank you. However, I do not know how to say this, you, Mr. Ionel Roman, as a member of Parliament, are familiar with the workings of a legal institution. As you very well know, it does not merely deal with laws and various other commitments assumed. It is more a matter of having an inquisitive voice that asks questions and has doubts about various issues. What is wrong with that? [end recording]

In the final part of the proceedings Mr. Ionel Blaga was elected president of the Central Control Commission and Mr. Cornel Popa to the position of the president of the Ethics and Litigious Issues Commission.

The proceedings concluded with the resolution of the convention being read by Petre Roman, president of the FSN.

Immediately after the conclusion of the proceedings, Mr. Petre Roman held a brief meeting with journalists, whom he told that the proceedings of the convention demonstrated the Front's capability to carry out a self-examination, participate in a confrontation of opinions, and to structure and define its options. Likewise, Mr. Roman said that this convention had proved the similarity between the presented political program and the options of the delegates.

As far as the next elections are concerned, the FSN leader expressed the view that the legislative elections should coincide with the presidential elections.

FSN Needs 'Time for Reflection'

AU2903134892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Here are further reports on the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] from our correspondents there. At this time, voting on the FSN statute is taking place. According to Article 25 of Chapter 3, the motion adopted by the Convention becomes the FSN's platform-program, and the leader of the group that proposed the motion becomes the leader of this political grouping.

After the adoption of Chapter 3, the meeting proceeded to examin—in view of its adoption—Chapter 4, entitled Candidacies for Romania's Presidency. Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica [FSN executive chairman] took the floor. Here is his speech.

[Begin recording] [Stoica] Ladies and gentlemen, the representatives of the winning motion, Future Today, agree that Mr. Ion Iliescu should submit his candidacy for election as president of Romania. [applause, commotion]

[Unidentified voice] Please, wait a bit, have patience.

[Stoica] Please pay attention to all nuances. I mean that he should submit his candidacy. This must be quite clear.

[Unidentified voice] Yes.

[Stoica] However, pronouncing ourselves on his candidacy for a new term—outside the political process currently going on in the party—means to renounce our consistent position and to do a disservice to our party

and democracy. Therefore, in spite of our regard for President Ion Iliescu, I say that, last but not least, we are doing him a disservice as well.

One should also take into consideration the following problems, too. President Iliescu has not yet announced his candidacy. Second, the date of the elections is not yet known. We would be the first party to announce this candidacy and that may cause us [word indistinct]. We do not yet know whether the presidential elections will be held at the same time as the general elections. If we want to be demanding toward ourselves, I suggest that you accept this viewpoint suggested by the representatives of the Future Today motion. [applause] Therefore, it should be quite clear that we obviously cannot oppose considering Mr. Iliescu's candidacy, if he decides upon it before the party, the FSN. I mean, that this should be quite clear. [commotion]

[Unidentified voice] Mr. Chairman, one minute please.

[Unidentified voice] Please, Mr. [name indistinct]

[Unidentified voice] I am only doing... [commotion] I draw the attention...

[Stoica] I am doing this with much calm, without any kind of passion of agitation. If we are to consider a candidate, the statute stipulates that he must declare that he recognizes the Front's platform, but this is not possible. [commotion] Therefore, I draw your attention, in a most honest and sincere manner, to the fact that such a provision obliges us to a debate, which cannot avoid points that are obviously going to damage the consistency of our position. This should be clearly remembered by everybody. I believe that it is important and inevitable to have a time for reflection. [end recording]

Roman Calls for June Elections

AU2903154392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1428 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1992—During its Sunday [29 March] morning debates, the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] adopted proposals for the amendment of the party's statute.

The title of "national leader" was given up and that of "president" was instituted.

Through open vote it was decided that the motion which had a majority of votes should become the FSN programmatic platform and the leader of the group that proposed the respective motion should automatically become the party's president. The members of the motion promoting group should become members of the Steering Collegium which is also the leading body that makes political and organizational decisions in between the national conventions.

At the end of the National Salvation Front [FSN] National Convention's works, Petre Roman referred in his closing address to the need to continue the reform in Romania and consolidate democracy. He also approached the question of organizing legislative and presidential elections, saying: A delay in elections can lead to fastly worsening the economic and social situation in Romania. The FSN considers it is absolutely necessary to consolidate democracy and further the reform. Legislative and presidential elections should be held as soon as possible, in June at the latest.

Factions' Disputes 'Assessed To Grow'

AU2903164392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1992—In a statement he made at the close of the National Salvation Front [FSN] National Convention's works, Petre Roman stressed that the party the president of which he is adhered to the idea that the ballot should take place in June at the latest. The FSN parliamentarians were called upon to back and promote the endorsement in due time of the legislative rules regarding the oncoming elections. Because many FSN parliamentarians belong to the groups which supported the convention's minority motions, the observers at the works wonder to what extent they are to take over the suggestions of the leadership of the Front with which they are in an open conflict as regards both ideology and interests. In the context, disputes are assessed to grow between those who issue the FSN party's directions and the parliamentarians who still wear the same emblem.

Roman Plays Down 'Scission'

AU2903182492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Excerpts] After three days of debates, the proceedings of the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] ended today. [passage omitted]

After the end of the proceedings, Mr. Petre Roman gave a brief news conference. He said that the convention proved the Front's capability to carry out a self-examination, to participate in a confrontation of opinions, and to structure and define its options. Referring to the fact that several delegates left the hall—which would amount to a scission in the Front—Mr. Petre Roman said it would be pretentious to call it a scission, since those who remained in the hall obviously represented the large majority, that is the people who now have a program and a leadership. Right now, the Front is a party with all the necessary structures and a program with which it can go before the electorate. The problem of possible alliances remains open. Regarding the future elections, the FSN leader spoke out for the concurrent holding of legislative and presidential elections.

Bucharest Radio Rounds Up Meeting

AU3003090292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Text] [Announcer] Let us now report on the proceedings of the Third National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN], on the basis of whose decision the Roman branch won clearly and convincingly within the Front. Yesterday the convention's proceedings ended. The last day was devoted to the discussion and adoption of that party's Statute. Doina Jalea has further details.

[Begin Doina Jalea recording] The FSN Statute specifies that the Front is a center-left party with a program that follows the line of the European social-democratic institutions. At a news conference, the Front's president, Mr. Petre Roman, said that its greatest success was the fact that, through the political option of the delegations to the convention, it was clear that today the Front is what is stipulated in the political program that was adopted, quote: There is perfect identity or very extensive identity between the program and the political options of those who support the Front—unquote.

Mr. Petre Roman also said that the convention proceedings demonstrated three essential things: The capability of the Front to perform self-analysis, to participate in a confrontation of opinions, and to structure and define its options. What is important is the declared position of the Front in connection with the parliamentary and presidential elections. The Front's president clearly spoke out for holding them together. He also emphasized the need for the elections to be held in the shortest time possible, at least by June, because a delay in the elections may lead to a deterioration of economic and social problems. A postponement of the elections would have a negative impact on strengthening democracy and continuing the reform process.

In this context, the speaker called on the FSN parliamentarians to support and promote the measures needed in order to adopt the legal regulations on the elections in a timely manner. Since a section of the parliamentarians belong to the groups that supported the minority motions at the convention and that lost compared with the Roman branch, the question is to what extent they will follow suggestions made by the Front's leadership when there is a conflict between them as far as ideology and interests are concerned.

In connection with the fact that there could be a delay in the issuing of the election law, at this news conference Mr. Petre Roman stressed that there are a number of constitutional procedures that permit, for instance, the dissolution of the parliament chambers in case of a delay. On the other hand, he emphasized the role of public opinion and of the press as the bearer of the public's message, both of which he termed as very important in this context.

The Front's convention did not decide on any candidate for the presidency. However, as Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica specified yesterday, the representatives of the winning motion "Future Today" agree that Mr. Ion Iliescu run for presidency. In accordance with the statute, however, he has to request this in writing from the Front's Steering Collegium and to declare that he recognizes the party's political platform.

The question of the Front's alliances in the coming elections remains open. What is essential, the FSN president, Mr. Petre Roman, said in news conferences that followed the conclusion of the Convention proceedings, is the fact that the Front is a structured party with a program and a party that is able to face the electorate. [end recording]

Stolojan Rejects Misappropriation of Funds

AU2703144492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1310 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1992—A report presented in Romania's Senate on March 25 by a parliamentary commission that investigated the lawfulness of the use by the parliament of the extra budgetary fund made from the sale of houses out of the state stock, concludes that "the government unlawfully spent the share of 50 percent" of the thus obtained fund, that stood at over 32 billion lei, "of which 25 billion lei cannot even be itemized for economic restructuring, accounting for embezzlement punished by the penal code."

Making some points on the report, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan declared over the national television station, on March 26: "I consider that the working out and publication of this report did not benefit from the necessary patience for the elucidation of the issues discussed. For that reason, rash and unreal conclusions were drawn." He showed that he relied upon the data and documents analyzed the same day together with experts of the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Detailing the uses of the respective amount of 25.9 billion lei, the premier said:

For the amount of 10.2 billion lei used for the financial covering of investments made in 1990 that were not disbursed at the year's end, because of the shortage of financial resources from the budget, "the government had the legal competence" by virtue of a law passed in the parliament in that connection.

As for the covering of the losses recorded by the National Railway Corporation in 1990, worth 2.6 billion lei, termed as obviously outside the government's legal competence, the prime minister showed that in August 1991, under a government decision, the losses of all units with state capital registered in 1989 and 1990, left without resources to cover them, were transferred to the public debt. "Only one thing can be blamed on the government," he said, namely "that one or more functionaries of the Ministry of Economy and Finance failed to include the loss of the National Railway Corporation in

the document that encompassed all such units... But embezzlement is out of question."

Referring to the 8.2 billion lei worth of loans given according to government decisions, Mr. Stolojan showed that they were to be repaid and were given in the following cases: For the payment of an advance necessary to buy 115 railway cars from former East Germany, as the Romanian producer declined the offer; for the financing of the stocks of materials bought much earlier in the Cernavoda nuclear power plant building site (a purchase ordered before December 1989); for the setting up of a joint venture in the peak technology of power supply sources for which licence could not be obtained; and for the actuation of the commercial exchanges with the Republic of Moldova "while no bank [was] able to give the money."

In connection with the allegation in the report that 5.5 billion lei were used to diminish the state budget deficit in 1991, although there was no budgetary reason to do so, the prime minister stated that "in actual fact, starting September 1, 1991, with the change in the credit regime for the purchase of houses from the state stock, the money thus taken in became direct revenues of the state budget, and the regime is still in force in 1992."

The prime minister also added that "the government did not conceal any of its actions and presented them to the parliament" in a bill which, being late (January 14) was remanded, so, they were to be reported at the close of the financial year."

Stolojan, Unions Discuss Wages, Social Protection

AU2703145792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1256 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/3/1992—Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan met on 27 March with members of the Executive Bureau of the National Unions Bloc at their request.

The meeting was attended by Mihu Miron Biji, special government representatives at talks with unions and employers, and Matei Dan, under secretary of state.

The main questions concerned a specific social protection programme, how the lowest wages are set and guaranteed. Linking wages to productivity and the criteria for enterprise performance were also discussed. Unionist leaders also asked that a study be undertaken of the course of the main macroeconomics indicators and the development trends of branches and major groups of products. Furthermore, they asked to take part in the work of the National Commission for Indexation.

Most of those problems got favorable answers and the decision makers of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, the Ministry of Industry and the Statistics Committee were urged to supply detailed specific solutions within a short time.

Miners' Leader Says Trade Unions Real Opposition

AU2803170392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1325 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/3/1992—"During our trip to Bucharest last week, we wanted only to solve concrete problems which are sent from one government-trade unions commission to another, from one ministry to another," Miron Cosma, president of the Executive Bureau of the Mining Trade Unions Federation of Romania, leader of the Jim Valley mining league, stated at a news conference in Craiova.

Almost 1,000 trade union leaders from Craiova, the Jiu Valley, Pitesti, Tirgu Jiu and Oradea came to Bucharest for three days last week. The trade union leaders motivated their action by the fact that the Parliament and the government had ignored the petition they had been handed over by the participants in a meeting held in Craiova on February 14, petition comprising a series of economic and social claims.

Referring to the ties with the political parties, Miron Cosma stated: "We do not polemicize with political parties of any colour. I personally do not like any political party, but the league of the Jiu Valley Mining Trade Unions is more powerful than any political party in nowadays Romania, as this trade union organisation has a personality as strong as the political parties, or an even more accentuated one. I consider that the only genuine opposition in Romania is now the trade union movement, because the parties, although they have various platforms, have joined in a coalition."

Miron Cosma also said: "Our policy is a trade union policy of counteracting the parties' policy. The people guilty of the miners' arrival in Bucharest are not in Petrosani, but in the Capital City. No matter what my people, the trade union members of the league or of the confederation will do, I will always be beside them. I do not renounce the office of being the miners' leader as long as I have been elected to that office, neither in exchange for the office of President of Romania, nor for the office of President of America," Miron Cosma stated.

Councils Set Up in Mehedinti, Galati, Braila

AU2903120692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Our correspondents in three counties—Mehedinti, Galati, and Braila—have reported the results in the county councillors' elections in those counties.

In Mehedinti County, election participation rose to about 82 percent, with the total number of 37 county councillor mandates being distributed as follows: the National Salvation Front [FSN]—16; the Democratic Convention [CD]—13; the Agrarian Democratic Party [PDAR]—five; the Romania Mare Party—one; the Republican Party—one; and the Liberal Party—one.

In Galati County, the total number of 45 [as heard] county councillor mandates were distributed as follows: FSN—18; PDAR—10; the National Liberal Party [PNL]—nine; CD seven; and one each for the Ecologist Movement and for the Union of the Democratic Left.

In addition, in Braila County the total number of 32 [as heard] county councillor mandates were distributed as follows: FSN—18; PDAR—eight; CD—six; Union of Romanian Village—three; the Romania Mare Party—one; the Ecologist Movement—one; the Liberal Party—one; and the Union of Democratic Left—one.

Democratic Forces Supports Mazilu's Candidacy

AU2803212392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] A joint communique of the Coalition of Democratic Forces announces that an extraordinary meeting of the coalition was held on 27 March 1992, which decided—we quote—to support the candidacy of Mr. Dumitru Mazilu, outstanding personality of the Romanian revolution, to the position of the country's president. The electorate will be in the position, the communique stresses, to elect a distinguished candidate after the December revolution, who has the title of doctor honoris causa for his struggle devoted to human rights.

Supreme Court Postpones Ruling Communists' Appeal

AU3003121492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1043 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/3/1992—The Supreme Court of Justice postponed the sentence on the extraordinary appeal lodged by the prosecutor general against the ruling of acquitting the former members of the Communist Party's Politburo for April 20.

Iliescu, Ministers Discuss Moldova

AU2803145692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Romania's Presidency communicates: In connection with the serious events in the Republic of Moldova that brought about the need to declare a state of emergency, Romanian President Ion Iliescu today held talks with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, the minister of national defense; Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu; Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase; and Minister of Interior Victor Babiuc.

On this occasion the officials present examined the situation and established measures that reassert Romania's willingness to support the Republic of Moldova in defending its territorial integrity, sovereignty, and independence in finding peaceful solutions to the current crisis.

Iliescu Assures Moldovans of Support

AU2903203192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Statement by Romanian President Mr. Ion Iliescu "made during the Current Events program of Romanian Television" on 29 March—recorded]

[Text] To begin with, we follow with great attention and concern the escalation of events in Moldova. As could be seen or heard from the latest news received today, a state of maximum tension persists over there, following the provocations of the separatist elements on the left bank of the Dniester River. A very aggravating thing is that Smirnov, the leader of this so-called Transdniestrian republic, has actually launched an appeal to give arms to new groups of people and new groups of aggressive elements, something that can only exacerbate the scope of their provocations. Another very serious thing, which amounts to a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova, is the presence and the actions of armed Cossacks. All this increases the size of the losses, damage, and human casualties and perpetuates a state of panic and terror in many localities.

As a result of these developments, Moldova's leadership was obliged to declare a state of emergency and adopt a number of measures aimed at reintroducing law and order, keeping such phenomena in check, and halting the escalation of military conflicts. Yesterday, television viewers had the opportunity to hear President Mircea Snegur's speech on these problems. However, we notice that certain communications media, including the central Moscow television, are presenting the situation in a distorted way, by trying to spread the idea that the main responsibility devolves on the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and that the introduction of the state of necessity, the state of emergency, would lead to the intensification of the tensions. We believe that more objective information would cast true light on the events and would help to solve the problems, by involving all the factors that can intervene in this respect.

As far as we are concerned, we are in permanent contact with Moldova's leadership. Last night, I had a telephone conversation with President Snegur, immediately after the introduction of the state of emergency. As I have already said, yesterday I had several consultations with the leadership of the government and with the ministers of foreign affairs, interior, and national defense. I have continued to keep abreast of developments today and reiterated our readiness to grant all the necessary support to the leadership of the Republic of Moldova in its efforts to defend the republic's territorial integrity and to stop the escalation of the conflict.

Today, as already announced, a letter from Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev arrived at our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I welcomed this initiative to organize four-party talks with experts from the Foreign ministries of Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania. Telephone talks were held today on this subject. After that a

meeting should take place in Chisinau tomorrow or the day after, with a view to jointly examining ways and means of cooperation in support of the Republic of Moldova, to ease the conflict and find solutions for a political and peaceful solution of the problems.

As Mr. Valeriu Muravschi said, we also believe that a particular role must be played by the 14th Army deployed in Moldova, particularly in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester River. We learned of the presence of the deputy commander in chief of the [CIS] Army in Tiraspol. We hope that his presence will play a positive role, will prevent the involvement of that Army in the conflict, and will also prevent the arming of the groups of anarchists or the penetration of such elements into the military depots, something that has caused astonishment, to say the least. We hope that the presence of the deputy commander in chief will be helpful in this respect.

There have been hints at military involvement on our part in the conflict on the Dniester, which is nothing but total disinformation of the international public. Concerning the problems of Moldova, I also had a dialogue with the heads of various political parties. We have to learn to view things not only from Bucharest's angle, but also from that of Chisinau. In this respect, I found very interesting and deserving of all attention—maybe our press will pick it up from a Chisinau newspaper—a statement addressed by Deputy (?Vartic) to Mr. (?Ulici), who said on Radio Free Europe that Bucharest should take steps to solve the problems of Bessarabia, including the reunification, and so forth. Well, Mr. (?Vartic) drew attention to the fact that the people and population of the Republic of Moldova are the first ones who must take the necessary steps to decide their fate. Regarding the prospect of reunification, this is something that both sides should promote and support, by primarily taking into consideration the will and desire of the population of the Republic of Moldova. I believe we should show them due respect and, in our deliberations, we should remember that these things are seen much more clearly from Chisinau. Consequently, we are dutybound to meet them halfway and give them as much support as possible.

In conclusion, I would like to address myself to our brothers across the Prut River in this spirit and assure them that the political leadership of Romania, its government, and the whole Romanian nation are alongside them in heart and spirit, and that we are ready to grant them all necessary support at this difficult time.

Nastase Briefs EC Envoys on Moldova

AU3003134292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Text] Within the framework of the consultations that the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs periodically has with chiefs of diplomatic missions in Bucharest with a view to briefing them on Romania's foreign policy actions and on its position on the extremely rapid developments in Europe, this morning the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Adrian Nastase, received the chiefs of diplomatic missions of the EC member states in Bucharest at the latters' request, our correspondent reported.

During the meeting, Mr. Adrian Nastase reported on the ministerial meeting of the CSCE conference in Helsinki, extensively outlining Romania's position on the important issues on the agenda, particularly those regarding the role and CSCE prospects given the profound changes that have occurred in Europe. He expressed Romania's desire to actively participate in the negotiations that will be held in Helsinki in the light of the CSCE summit in July this year, which is to adopt measures of particular importance regarding the process of cooperation and security in Europe in the future.

Answering questions of the ambassadors of the EC member states in Bucharest, the Romanian foreign minister reported on developments in the Republic of Moldova, especially on the left bank of the Dniester River and on the position held by Romania, which expresses profound concern over the serious consequences which the escalation of events in that area may have on the stability in the region and in that part of Europe in general.

Nastase Returns, Assesses CSCE Meeting

AU2803193192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2023 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by correspondent Nicu Popescu in Bucharest on 27 March—recorded]

[Text] [Popescu] Minister Adrian Nastase, there was snow on the steets of Helsinki and it even snowed there during the meeting. Do you believe that it was spring in the palace that hosted the meeting of the foreign ministers of the 51 countries that participated in the CSCE process?

[Nastase] No doubt spring means hope and I believe it was hope that animated the participants in the meeting because each of them was thinking that he would be able to introduce his individual point of view and his own concerns in the final texts and in the future orientations of the CSCE. The Helsinki Conference, 20 years later, as Alexandre Dumas would say [reference to the title of a Dumas novel, "20 Years Later"], tries to see—from the point of view of the interests of a new generation and a new generation of participants—the way the interests of these countries could be accommodated, in the unique context of increasingly important stress laid on the economy and in a moment in which, as a matter of fact, new ways of—I could say—trans-national action are being sought. For 20 years, the issue of human rights was an extremely useful instrument, which led to what they called the axis-like contamination in East Europe.

When the revolutions in East Europe have led to a homogenization of values in all these countries, no doubt

we should seek—I say this between inverted commas—other goals and other interests. One of them is the issue of minorities. This becomes increasingly noticeable, suggesting somehow that we are living permanently in a situation of inter-ethnic conflict and we can no longer understand people who, from an ethnic point of view, are different from us and suggesting that in a way, interethnic relations are more complicated now than before. In a way, they suggest that it is better for these issues to be authoritatively controlled by the ruling power than to be left alone in a democratic situation.

I think this is a completely mistaken premise, even more so since a lack of balance is being attempted between the responsibility of countries that have minorities on their territories and the responsibility of countries that have minorities outside their borders. Here is a problem that was stressed very little: the fact that there is virtually no country in Europe without ethnic minorities both inside and outside its borders. This is a subject that is connected with a multi millennia history and that has generated this de-synchronization between frontiers and the territory on which the ethnic population lives. Returning to this subject, I believe that it is extremely important that in the future Europe the responsibilities of countries, both of those states that have minorities on their territories and those that have minorities outside their borders, responsibilities should be clearly stressed and formulated, precisely in order to avoid building a new political weapon, and avoid the artificial creation of certain conflict zones, which afterwards would call for—what is needed to be asked—the creation of mechanisms to prevent or solve conflicts. We should be very careful. In a way this problem has a natural, democratic hypothesis that we have to accept and on the other hand, there is a risk for European security that we must avoid.

[Popescu] Mr. Minister, how was your address received, because we heard applause.

[Nastase] During such an address applause does not mean much. Those who read these addresses more attentively are generally not in the hall. The text of the address is examined with very great care in the diplomatic offices and afterwards the process of their superposing starts, so that they can see where the joint interest zones are that later facilitate certain negotiations and the orientation of the final compromise.

[Popescu] Mr. Minister. Let us stay with the subject of Helsinki. Could you say a few words about bilateral contacts with Finland and maybe the most important ones with other foreign ministers.

[Nastase] The contacts with the other foreign ministers were certainly numerous but less formal, first and foremost because in the past months we have met often enough. But we certainly used this opportunity to solve problems that very directly interest us, such as when Foreign Minister Genscher's visit to Bucharest will take place, or the reopening of the Portuguese Embassy in our capital city. Thus, we discussed things that necessitate direct, efficient, and rapid contacts. As far as relations with Finland are concerned, I must admit that these relations unfortunately have not developed very well in the past two years. Therefore, together with Finnish Foreign Minister Vayrynen, in a very constructive way, we decided—as a matter of fact starting from a very significant moment, namely the signing of a document that guarantees investments in the two countries—to establish certain landmarks, such as the Finnish foreign minister's visit to Bucharest, to organize certain visits at the level of other members of the government, and to encourage Finnish business people to discover the Romanian market with its comparative advantages.

Constantinescu on Backing Moldova Economically

AU2803133592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0934 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/3/1992—"No matter our possibilities, Moldova will be economically backed," Dan Constantinescu, minister of industry, stated at the news conference held in Bucharest on Friday, March 27.

The cooperation with the Republic of Moldova will take place on two planes, Industry Minister Constantinescu said, announcing the forthcoming visit of his counterpart in the Republic of Moldova due to come Sunday evening or Monday. Approach will be made of the possibilities of economic cooperation and integration, on the one hand, and of the actions to back Moldova from an economic and industrial point of view in special crisis situations, on the other hand.

Reference was made to the Romanian side's intentions to build an electric power line in the north of the country, as well as to the proposal concerning Romania's deliveries of diesel oil in compensation for farm works services.

"As far as economic integration is concerned, our ministry has already begun the elaboration of studies about cooperation possibilities and we intend to set up a special team to deal with the economic relations with Moldova," the Romanian minister of industry added.

PAC Says Moldovan Army Should Restore Order

AU3003115292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Text] Expressing concern over the situation that has arisen in the Republic of Moldova, the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] believes that, following the latest international accords and the recognition of the Republic of Moldova at the international level, the solution of the situation in Moldova falls within the competence of the Chisinau authorities, and that law and order cannot be established throughout Moldova except by Moldova's own forces of order.

In a statement faxed to our editorial office, the Civic Alliance Party asks Romania's Government to support the efforts of the Chisinau authorities to reestablish law

and order by peaceful means. The Republic of Moldova has to be helped during this time with medicines, foodstuffs, and—at its request—with everything that is necessary to equip its national Army, the only force entitled to ensure order in the territory of that state, the declaration of the Civic Alliance Party stresses.

UDC Calls For UN Protection for Moldova

AU2803194892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/3/1992—Saturday, March 28, the National Convention of the Christian Democratic Union (UDC) held a special session to debate the party's point of view on the serious events on the left bank of the Dniester in the Republic of Moldova.

These events were considered to be "criminal actions directed against the population, hotbeds of war—an outcome of occult manufacturers translated into fact by the remainders of the former Soviet empire with the specific aim of preventing Romania's reintegration at any cost."

UDC requests the president and Government of Romania to "urgently apply to the Security Council with a view to placing the Romanian territories across the Prut and their residents under the UN's protection as well as to all the international fora for an undelayed application of the norms of international law that refer to the problems linked to the retrocession of the territories occupied by force."

PSM Backs 'Negotiated' Solution for Moldova

AU2903165092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1992—The Socialist Party of Labour (PSM) of Romania condemns the armed intervention of Cossacks and foreign mercenaries who attempt at the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova causing considerable casualties and damage. The PSM backs the responsible actions of the authorities in the Republic of Moldova and requests the legislative, state and executive bodies in Romania to intensify their demarches to the Commonwealth of Independent States, more particularly to the Governments of Russia and the Ukraine, for an exclusively political, negotiated settlement of the conflict in the area.

PSDR Urges Assistance to Moldovan Situation

AU2903164792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1992—The Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR], worried about the situation in the Republic of Moldova and concerned for their Romanian brothers across the Prut, requests Romania's president and Government to urgently apply a gradual plan of measures, function of developments, for assistance in all domains against aggressive actions and for the protection of the population.

PDAR Calls For Regional Summit on Moldova

AU2903154992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1441 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1992—Following the urgent consultations held by the Steering Committee of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania (PDAR), the party's leader Victor Surdu made a statement to a ROMPRES reporter:

In connection with the dramatic situation in Bessarabia, the PDAR Steering Committee thinks an urgent summit should take place to the attendance of the presidents and foreign ministers of the Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Moldova and Romania—four states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, and UN members—to give thorough explanations on the "centres of power" which observe not even the understandings of the Commonwealth of Independent States, substantiated especially at their latest meeting in Kiev. PDAR considers that the meeting might be held in Cernauti [Chernovtsy].

Vatra Romaneasca Issues Communique on Moldova

AU2803195592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] We have received by fax a communique of the National Steering Committee of the Vatra Romaneasca Union. At an emergency meeting in Tirgu Mures, the committee examined the particularly serious situation created by the action of the separatist forces on the left bank of the Dnestr River and took note of President Mircea Snegur's declaration of a state of emergency throughout the Romanian territory beyond the Prut River. On behalf of the Vatra Romaneasca National Union, the Steering Committee expresses full solidarity with the struggle of the brothers from the Republic of Moldova and makes a heartfelt appeal to the political and apolitical groupings in the country and the whole people to support in all ways and means the defense of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova and the Romanian national being.

We have received by fax another communique signed by the president of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], which announces that this group suggests an urgent meeting of the leaderships of political and apolitical organizations, concurrently with convening the

Higher Council for National Defense, in order to urgently work out a system of concrete measures and actions.

In a communique received by our editorial board half an hour ago, the Social Democratic National Salvation Front [FSN-SD] expresses profound concern over the continuous deterioration of the situation in the Republic of Moldova provoked by the actions of alien national forces in the service of the separatist leaders on the left bank of the Dniester River. The communique firmly condemns their violation of all the conciliation and cease-fire accords that have been concluded, something that exposes the civilian population to the risks of an armed conflict. The Romanian president and government are asked to urgently contact the governments of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine so as to enable the government and people of Moldova to resolve their domestic problems without foreign interference.

Bukovinan Romanians' Union Supports Moldova

AU2803184192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/3/1992—Given the open armed aggression policy pursued by the separatist and interventionist forces on the left bank of the Dnestr, the Bukovinan Romanians' Union asserts its full solidarity with those who are so heavily tried at this time of ordeal, shows a communique sent to ROMPRES for publication. The Bukovinan Romanians' Union calls on the entire Romanian people to unite and show solidarity with the brothers across the Prut, to give them firm and efficient support at any moment of their fight against the retrograde elements that aim at re-establishing communism in the territories across the Dnestr and attempt at the integrity and independence of the Republic of Moldova.

International

U.S. Envoy Supports Kosovo 'Autonomy'

LD2903171192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Pristina, Mar 29 (TANJUG)—U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmermann has said that the United States will exert pressure on the authorities of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia in view of providing "maximum autonomy" for the Albanian national minority in the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija [Kosmet].

The Serbian leadership will be informed that it cannot expect normal relations with the United States if the Kosovo question is not seriously dealt with, Zimmermann has said in an interview to the daily BUJKU, published in the Albanian language in Pristina, the capital of the province.

Zimmermann said that the United States had not supported the efforts of the ethnic Albanians aimed at proclaiming "the independence of Kosovo," but that, according to the daily, it will support the requests for "a maximum possible autonomy of Kosovo." He also expressed the hope that the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels would find such a solution. The parties rallying ethnic Albanians, which favour secession of Kosmet from Serbia and from Yugoslavia, as well as the annexation of the province to neighbouring Albania, last year unconstitutionally proclaimed "the Republic of Kosovo" and illegally formed parallel organs of authority within Serbia.

Expressing his disagreement with the view of Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic that "the conference on Yugoslavia should not consider Kosovo," Zimmermann underlined that the United States "will do everything to ensure" that the question of Kosovo be included in the agenda of the Brussels conference.

After unilateral decisions by Slovenia and Croatia to secede from Yugoslavia, a conference on Yugoslavia was organized under the auspices of the European Community, attended by representatives of all Yugoslav federal units. Kosmet is not a Yugoslav federal unit, but an autonomous province within Serbia.

Zimmermann also warned that the danger to "the Kosovo people" was greater that that threatening Serbs in Croatia. "The Kosovo people" is not featured in the Yugoslav Constitution. Ethnic Albanians have the status of a national minority in Yugoslavia, as their parent country is Albania, while the Serbs are one of the constituent peoples of Yugoslavia. The Croatian authorities have, however, proclaimed the Serbs in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia a national minority, denying them the right to self-determination, which belongs to them since they are a constituent people. Apart from this, the Croatian authorities banned the Serbs from using their national symbols and alphabet, and began driving them out of the territories in which they have been living for centuries so as to create an ethnically pure Croatian state. At the same time, the Albanian minority in Serbia enjoys all minority rights, which even exceed the accepted international standards. The Albanian minority in Kosmet has 24 newspapers in its own language, a television and radio programme, education at all levels in the Albanian language, national theatres and libraries.

The ethnic Albanians practice their religion with complete freedom in over 500 mosques, and they are politically organized in about a dozen ethnically-pure parties. According to the Serbian Government's assessment, the problems with the ethnic Albanians in Kosmet do not arise from a non-observance of the rights of minorities in line with the CSCE standards, but because of the abuse of these rights and systematic refusal to exercise them, in order to represent the ethnic Albanians as victims of Serbia and to attract outside support for secessionism. Under pressure from its political parties, the Albanian national minority boycotted the census last year, so that there is no reliable data about the size of this ethnic group in Serbia. According to statistical estimates, the number of ethnic Albanians accounts for about 1.6 million in the ten-million population of Serbia.

Labels Kosovo 'Typical' 'Colonialism'

LD2803184792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Warren Zimmermann, U.S. ambassador to Belgrade, said in an interview with the Albanian-language paper BUJKU of Pristina that he views Kosovo as a typical example of colonialism. Kosovo is now without local bodies of power and such a state of affairs cannot last for long. I am convinced that time is on the side of the Albanians in Kosovo and they will get their freedom, Zimmerman said.

UN Forces Granted Air Traffic Control

LD2803235192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav government has decided to ensure more favourable conditions and facilities for the flights of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] aircraft which start and end inside Yugoslav air space.

Mirko Ivkovic, assistant Yugoslav minister of transportation and communications, has said that the federal flight office will approve UNPROFOR flights with far less formalities. Negotiations are under way with UNPROFOR representatives on providing the U.N. peacekeeping forces free of charge with flight control and meteorological services.

It is estimated that UNPROFOR, which will have 26 helicopters and 4 planes, will save up to around 1.2 million dollars annually in this way. UNPROFOR aircraft will be able freely to enter Yugoslav air space, regardless of whether they are aircraft belonging to

individual countries or have been hired from foreign or domestic air carriers, as the Yugoslav information secretariat has announced. The complete requests are to be submitted within the fixed time limits so that, after consultations are carried out with competent authorities in the country, permits could be issued for entry into Yugoslav air space, as the information secretariat statement says.

It yet remains to be seen whether and which facilities UNPROFOR can get from firms in charge of airports in view of the difficult economic position in which the Yugoslav airports find themselves, as the statement specifies.

Interrepublic

Prevlaka Peninsula To Stay in 'Yugoslav Republic'

LD2803001292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Titograd, Mar 27 (TANJUG)—The Prevlaka Peninsula at the entrance to the Bay of Boka Kotorska in Montenegro cannot be outside the territory of this Yugoslav Republic, Defense Minister of Montenegro Bozidar Babic said in an interview to the Titograd daily POBJEDA today. This uninhabited peninsula which is the site of one of the most modern military bases is of strategic interest to both Montenegro and Yugoslavia, which will be succeeded jointly by Montenegro and Serbia, Babic said.

The Croatian Armed Forces last year attacked the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) base in Prevlaka, which controls the entrance to Boka Kotorska, but they were pushed back north all the way to Dubrovnik. Prevlaka is within the administrative borders of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, but, as Babic pointed out, it is not known when or how these borders were established.

There is no legal act, he underscored, which determines the administrative-territorial borders between the federal units established after World War Two. The results of many years of silence about these borders and everything else that went with it, as well as the solutions which were hushed up, have led to the flaring up of nationalism and the bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, Babic underscored. The minister underscored that the Bay of Boka Kotorska would remain Montenegrin and Yugoslav, when he was asked to comment Croatia's aspirations to this entire bay.

During a recent launching of a naval vessel, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said that "there are no more foreign banners from Istria to Boka." Babic said that Tudjman was actually trying to justify the loss of one-third of the territories within the administrative borders of Croatia where the Serb people live. In territories where they are a majority population, Serbs in Croatia held a plebiscite and decided to remain in Yugoslavia after Croatia secedes from it. The attempt by Croatia forcefully to establish power over the Serb territories triggered the war in this republic.

Federal

Defense Ministry Issues Statement

LD2803172692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Mar (TANJUG)—A session of most senior officers of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the Armed Forces General Staff, and the commanders of military districts, of the Air Force, the Anti-Air Defense, and Navy was held today in Belgrade. The session was chaired by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense. The Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Service has issued the following statement:

"The session considered the defense and security aspects of the situation in the country, primarily from the point of view of the place, role, and tasks of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in the current situation.

"It was assessed that events in Bosnia-Hercegovina are taking a dramatic turn. The armed formations of the Republic of Croatia have been conducting open aggression and, together with paramilitary formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, are attacking the Serbian population and, by perpetrating mass crimes, are trying to expel it from certain areas.

"Attacks on JNA members are increasing, to which demands that the army leave certain places and even the whole of Bosnia-Hercegovina are a contributory factor.

"Assessing that the commands and units of the Second and Fourth Military Districts have done everything to prevent an escalation of conflicts, it was noted that the scope for restrained behavior is being exhausted. The army will be forced to react resolutely to any form of armed threat against citizens and military personnel.

"Specific tasks have been set in this connection.

"Proceeding from the premise that the establishment of peace and the creation of conditions for a political solution to the crisis are the basic obligations of all social factors, tasks have been set for the commands and units regarding the speedy and well-organized reception of the UN peace-keeping forces. The session also discussed the transformation of the JNA and measures to alleviate the difficult situation in which members of the regular army find themselves after being forced to leave their places of abode," the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Service concludes.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Vice President Warns UN of Situation

AU2703212092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Bosnian Vice President Ejub Ganic sent a letter to the UN Secretary General in the name of the Presidency [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] in which he informs him that the situation in our republic is seriously deteriorating. The legal organs of our republic are trying to reduce the tensions and prevent further clashes, Ganic says in his letter and continues:

After the referendum of the Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens, the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] has been undertaking a series of actions of a terrorist nature. Such actions represent a declaration of war to the legal institutions of the republic, and the citizens consider them to be an aggression from inside. Besides this, the SDS is forming parallel institutions with the intention of preventing the functioning of the legal organs of power. The safety of towns is endangered. Numerous paramilitary units are crossing into Bosnia-Hercegovina from the neighboring republics and are in this way making the situation even worse, Ejub Ganic stresses in his letter. He demands from Butrus Ghali that the military observers of the UN Protection Force be deployed in our republic.

Army General Contests Presidency Authority

AU2703204392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Interview with Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Second Army District, by Rada Djokic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djokic] If more serious attacks on the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] and the military installations take place—and we have already witnessed this, for instance in Travnik at the moment—who is going to command the Army: the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency or the JNA Supreme Command?

[Kukanjac] I command this Army. I am the commander. The Presidency has nothing to... [changes thought] has no authority to do this. I am commanding, and I have my own command above me. Therefore, this is clear. There is no dilemma. And they know it.

Naturally, on such occasions I am willing to talk nicely with them, so that we see [changes thought] to hear their side, but, I am the one who makes a decision on all this. There are no ambiguities here. And this must be clear to everybody.

Assembly of Serbs Promulgates New Constitution

AU2703164192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 27 Mar 92

[Text] A festive session of the Assembly of the Serbian people promulgated the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo today. Risto Djogo reports:

[Djogo] With the Lord of Justice anthem playing in the background, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today festively and officially proclaimed the first Constitution of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Explaining why the Serbian Assembly decided to take this step, Momcilo Krajisnik said:

[Begin Krajisnik recording] We have not proclaimed our constitution up to now, because we were hoping that the three ethnic communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina would reach an agreement under the auspices of the EC. The announcement by the Party of Democratic Action that is abandoning the agreement reached in Sarajevo—according to which Bosnia-Hercegovina would be transformed into a composite state community made up of three constituent units, primarily along the lines of the ethnic principle—and the public statement by Mr. Izetbegovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action, that he would not vote in favor of the agreement which he accepted in Sarajevo, created total mistrust among our people, in our partners in power, and in the agreement with them.

The joint organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina have lost the last vestiges of objectivity. The Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, outvoting the representatives of the Serbian people, are supporting those who usurped power in Bosanski Brod and are siding with them. A campaign against the Yugoslav People's Army is being conducted in a perfidious way with the aim of accusing it of starting the war in that town. The massacre of Serbian families in Bosanski Brod is not mentioned, the occupation of the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not condemned, and all activities by the Government and the Presidency are in contravention of the Constitution and laws of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the interests of the Serbian people. By promulgating the Constitution we are only realizing the rights that, as we have already agreed, fall into the sphere of competence of decisionmaking by national states. We are prepared to make all the necessary corrections and adjustments (?and) reach a final agreement under the auspices of the EC. [end recording]

[Djogo] The agenda of the closed part of the assembly of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina includes bills on the territory of Serbian communes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the decision to set up a council for national security, recommendations for ending the use of plates bearing the name of Josip Broz on and in the buildings in which the organs of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are accommodated. At that part of the

session, Branko Djeric, premier designate of the Serbian Government, will propose some ministers.

Serbs Demand Republic Recognition Postponement

AU2703212392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], sent a letter to the UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, Lord Carrington, [Chairman of the EC Council on Bosnia-Hercegovina] Jose Cutilheiro, [Chairman of the EC] Joao de Deus Pinheiro, and to the UNPROFOR [UN protection force] command in Sarajevo:

We have been informed of the scandalous letter that Ejub Ganic [member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency], illegal deputy of Mr. Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency], has sent to you. It is emphasized in the letter that neither the SDS nor any other authority of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in Yugoslavia is carrying out any terrorist action, as Mr. Ganic writes. The real truth is the following:

Numerous armed forces of the Republic of Croatia are entering Bosnia-Hercegovina, carrying out massacres on the Serbian population. There are indications that the Muslim Party of Democratic Action is making accelerated preparations for a civil war. The accusations made at the expense of the Serbian people and the SDS represent a part of these preparations for the war against the Serbian nation.

The Serbian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the only side that does not have paramilitary formations. The Serbs most certainly will not contribute toward introducing chaos and civil war. The Serbs are willing to cooperate with the international community in order to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

One thing is certain, the letter stresses, Bosnia-Hercegovina in its present state is not ready for international recognition, which must be definitively postponed until the republic is transformed into a democratic confederation of three sovereign, constituent states of Muslims, Croats, and Serbs. The threat of Bosnia- Hercegovina being recognized is contributing toward the anxiety of the citizens and toward the increase in inter-religious and inter- ethnic tensions. Therefore, the work of the Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, chaired by Mr. Cutilheiro, must be speeded up, it is stated at the end of the letter that Radovan Karadzic sent to Butrus Ghali, Lord Carrington, Cutilheiro, De Deus Pinheiro, and the UNPROFOR in Sarajevo.

Serbs Flee Zvornik Following Muslim Mobilization

AU2803162092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] The head of the Zvornik public security station last night ordered the mobilization only of ethnic Muslim militiamen, who, after being given automatic weapons, occupied the public security station. Ethnic Serbian militiamen and representatives of the communal committee of the Serbian Democratic Party reacted to this, even more so because ethnic Serbs have been fleeing en masse from Zvornik to the right side of the Drina since last night. A meeting is under way at the Zvornik public security station to discuss last night's event as well as the emigration of Serbs. Here is a report by Vladimir Mitric, journalist of the Drina Valley Radio:

[Begin Mitric recording] The meeting of the workers of the Zvornik Public Security Station, approximately half of whose employees are Serbs and half Muslims, has been going on for several hours and is still under way. It seems, however, that no agreement of any kind has been reached, according to what we could learn.

According to Branko Grujic, president of the communal committee of the Zvornik Serbian Democratic Party, last night Osman Mustafic, head of the Zvornik Public Security Station, ordered the mobilization of ethnic Muslim militiamen, who were armed with automatic weapons and occupied the public security station last night. Their Serb colleagues, leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Serbian population are seeking an answer to the question of why Muslims alone were mobilized.

Large numbers of ethnic Serbs started crossing over to the right side of the Drina to Mali Zvornik, feeling the situation in their city to be ever more unfavorable. Mainly old people and children are seeking refuge in Serbia and the Serbian villages in the Zvornik commune. While we are sending this report, the exodus of Serbs from Zvornik has been going on. Representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party are calling on the adult Serbs who have crossed the Drina to come back to Zvornik immediately. Fortunately, there has been no information about any incidents. [end recording]

Karadzic Wants 'Total Mobilization'

AU2803175192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] In today's *From the Site* broadcast of the Belgrade radio first program, we spoke about the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has suddenly become more complicated recently after Ustasha units forayed from Slavonski Brod into Bosanski Brod. Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, was one of the participants in the program. Among other things, Dr. Radovan Karadzic replied to a question regarding his views on the neutral position of the Army in the central republic:

[Begin Karadzic recording] I think that a neutral position for the Army is good until aggression is committed against any side in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I think that the Army has so far represented a factor of stability and many circles have assessed its presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina as representing a stabilizing factor. However, considering the fact that massacres of the innocent Serbian population have begun, we expect the Army to take an active attitude toward the aggressors. We do not want the Army to take any (?asymmetrical) attitude toward the Serbian people. If we attacked somebody, we would understand perfectly if the Army protected him. Serbs, however, either those in Croatia or in Bosnia-Hercegovina, have attacked nobody. On the contrary, they were attacked and it is high time the Yugoslav Army very actively defended those who are threatened.

I have to say that only the Serbian people have no paramilitary formations. I do not want to say that the Serbian people are not armed, but they have not been organized into formations of a military nature. If we are threatened, however, we will then have to defend ourselves in the same way in which we are attacked. We are still true to democratic and political means of solving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but if the other side applies non-political means, that is, aggressive and warlike means, we shall have to proclaim total mobilization of all Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina with the task of protecting the weak among the Serbs as well as protecting the Serbian territories. [end recording]

Cease-Fire Agreement Reached in Bosanski Brod

AU2803211592 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Jadranko Bojic report from Bosanski Brod]

[Text] Until the time we sent this report, that is, about 1850 [1750 GMT], the meeting of the representatives of the defense units crisis headquarters of Bosanski Brod and the Serbian Commune of Bosanski Brod with Biljana Plavsic and Fikret Abdic, members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and National Defense Minister Jerko Doko had not yet been concluded.

During brief recesses during the meeting, we managed to learn that an agreement on a cease-fire has been reached. A buffer zone would be set at the border region between the opposing sides, which would be controlled by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Compliance with the truce would be controlled by mixed committees formed by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Ministry of National Defense, and EC observers.

By the way, there have been no armed clashes in Bosanski Brod and Derventa this evening, and roads between Derventa and Srbac and between Derventa and Bosanski Brod are still blocked. It remains to be seen during the coming night whether the opposing sides will reach a final agreement about stopping the clashes, because most conflicts in this area so far have started in the evening.

Kupres Citizens Flee; Others Arm Themselves

AU2903211592 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Dusko Mitrovic report from Kupres]

[Excerpts] There is only one reason why emigration, that is, the flight of people from the Kupres plateau has slowly stopped and that is that since this afternoon, there has been nobody left to emigrate from it. The only people left are adult men, that is, the so-called fighters who are only waiting to start fighting against the opposing side, whatever the consequences. The other people who have been left in Kupres are those who are ill or cannot move, or those people who have nowhere to go. A large number of people who were crowded around the Kupres bus station this afternoon presented a horrible picture, with women and children crying because they had to leave their homes, not knowing where they are going. [passage omitted]

The hearts of the Kupres men are bleeding because today they have seen off their nearest and dearest who have left into uncertainty. However, most of them have nevertheless armed themselves in order to enter the coming night in as ready a state as possible. Trenches have been dug out, heavy weapons and machine gun nests have been set up around the town. [passage omitted]

The apparent peace could be deceiving to a passerby, but empty Kupres homes locked up tightly, columns of refugees, and armed formations with various insignia cruising around the [word indistinct] town speak of the evil drama that Kupres citizens are going through. [passage omitted]

Plasvic Says Izetbegovic Wants Islamic Republic

LD3003111892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0838 GMT 30 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Immediately after the signing of the Derventa agreement, Biljana Plavsic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that "the worst could be evaded but if there are new victims peace does not stand a chance". In an interview for VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Biljana Plavsic, introduced by this newspaper as a "woman who is not scared", said that she does not know if she is courageous but that "she certainly is not easily given to fear". [passage omitted]

According to Plavsic, members of the military wing of the Croatian Party of Rights are "an army belonging to another state setting Bosnia on fire". "I do not know what is happening to the army. Time is running out: something must be done urgently", she said. She added: "I do not know where General Kukanjac [commander of

the Second Military District] is now. I was looking for him for two days. I could not find him, but knowing him he must be in the right place. He must be doing something important because this has to be stopped. Serb people are faced with a new pogrom", Plavsic said.

Asked whether Izetbegovic went "to Mecca to bow to Allah", Plavsic said that she knows that Izetbegovic is "a deeply religious man and that he suffered because of that during the communist regime. I cannot blame him for that, but it is impossible to understand why he had to go at this particular moment. In any case, Foreign Affairs Minister Haris Silajdzic behaves in the same way. He travels around the world, all of us paying for it—he is travelling only as the representative of the Muslims and is fighting only for the Party of Democratic Action". Plavsic went on to state that "she does not know if Izetbegovic has emigrated, as rumor has it". "But I know that he does not respect any agreement made with the Europeans. I told Lord Carrington that one could not trust them even when they put their seal on a document. Izetbegovic has gone back on everything that we have agreed on. I see that he has now left matters in the care of Presidency Member Ganic. Izetbegovic wants an Islamic republic and he is doing everything to achieve this goal. He said that when Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina make up 51 percent of the population they will establish an Islamic republic. In 10 years this will indeed happen, as their birth rate is very high", Plavsic said. [passage omitted]

Sandzak Muslims Confer With Carrington

AU2903121892 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 92 p 2

[Report by Z. Saponjic: "Sandzak Like Krajina"]

[Text] Novi Pazar—"The problem of Muslims living in Sandzak is identical to the problem of Serbs living in Croatia, and so it should be treated in the same way."

This sentence, according to Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in Sandzak, was uttered by Lord Carrington last Thursday in London, during his recent meeting with Sulejman Ugljanin. It has been interpreted in Sandzak as the most significant achievement of the recent talks between the president of the peace conference on Yugoslavia and the SDA delegation.

According to Ljajic, the exact implications of Lord Carrington's statement were not established at the meeting, but it was agreed that solutions should be sought in long and patient negotiations among all interested parties, and in further contacts between the SDA in Sandzak and the president of the peace conference. Lord Carrington stressed that he would accept any solution to the Sandzak question that is in agreement with the principles of inviolability of borders and respect of human rights, but he added that he would give his full support to all the rights that belong to the Muslim people according to the Hague documents—said Ljajic. "Full territorial and political autonomy of Sandzak was also mentioned, but no concrete results were reached."

Sulejman Ugljanin and Rasim Ljajic "took the opportunity to inform their host of the most recent examples of human rights violations in Sandzak, particularly the trouble the Muslims on the Pester Plain have been having with the reservists stationed in the village of Stavalj, near Sjenica."

Lord Carrington was asked "to use his authority and to demand from the leaderships of Serbia and Montenegro the urgent withdrawal of the reservists from Pester. Lord Carrington promised he would use his influence, and that at his next meeting with the Serbian and Montenegrin officials, he would insist on the withdrawal," continued Ljajic.

The leadership of the SDA, said Ljajic, was praised at this meeting for "its correct attitude toward the solution of the Yugoslav crisis." "And we will continue that way. If Serbia and Montenegro decide to unite and form a new Yugoslavia, we will not reach for our guns. But we are already working on a democratic response. If the Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships accept us as an equal partner, compromise is possible along the lines of a special status for Sandzak. If, however, they continue their arrogant approach, we will be forced to carry out the decision made by the Muslim people in the referendum on full territorial and political autonomy for Sandzak," concludes Ljajic.

According to the information from the central office of the SDA, after the talks with Lord Carrington, Sulejman Ugljanin met with representatives of several committees and organizations for the protection of human rights, and a visit to the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also planned.

New Referendum

We in the SDA in Sandzak are not waiting with our arms crossed for the announced unification of Serbia and Montenegro. Next week we will send out to all municipal committees of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak the proposal that elections be called for the assembly of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak. We believe that the committees will accept this proposal, and we are currently working on the regulations regarding these elections. In case of unification, we want fully equal treatment, or else we will be forced to have a new referendum, instead of just carrying out the results of the previous one. In the new referendum, the people of Sandzak will decide whether they are in favor of Sandzak joining one of the former Yugoslav republics—it was announced yesterday to BORBA by Rasim Ljajic, president of the SDA in Sandzak.

Karadzic Comments on Division of Republic

92BA0680A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 92 p 7

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Ejub Stitkovac; place and date not given: "Yugoslavia or Three Bosnias"]

[Text] "I am convinced that the Serbs will never make peace until they achieve their age-old aspiration to live in one state. I do not know whether that will be now or in a few years, but they will achieve it," Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], said in an exclusive interview with BORBA on the eve of the fifth round of negotiations of the incumbent ethnic parties. The negotiations are taking place following the referendum and the "event of the barricades" in Sarajevo, which could have resulted in civil war. What else could really happen in B-H?

"Between the referendum and the barricades stands an unavoidable event—the assault on a Serbian wedding party, Serbian symbols, and the murder of one wedding guest, which was the direct consequence of the behavior of the Muslim leadership and their assurance that the alleged civil referendum would succeed. That behavior followed their line of there being no talks whatsoever about the transformation of Bosnia and that it had resolved everything. This emboldened the militant fundamentalists to even attack a Serbian wedding party. What might happen now? This trend of utter disorder and chaos could continue with civil war between ethnic groups and religions, with hundreds of thousands of dead and hundreds of towns destroyed. After such a war, we would have completely the same situation; three B-H's, which we have right now, and we still would have to agree on the internal ties among them. I can say that there is no central government in B-H, there is no state of B-H, there are three states which have not regulated their mutual relations, and this should be done as soon as possible in the Conference on B-H."

"We Are Bugging Our Enemies"

[Stitkovac] After your agreement with Mr. Izetbegovic and General Kukanjac, commander of the 2d Military District, the worst happened. Once again, that is, there is talk that certain events could recur.

[Karadzic] The agreement with Gen. Kukanjac was a test of a model in which the Army undoubtedly had the role of a disinterested intermediary between the sides confronting one another. We, of course, watched our enemies and eavesdropped on them, just as they eavesdrop on us. Even now, I can speak freely not of partners or opponents, but of enemies, and I am referring here to that segment of the militant fundamentalist core that would like Bosnia for itself and that would like to subjugate the Serbs and Croats. We would not advise them to think along those lines, especially in view of the fact that a war in B-H would bring no one victory, but would only homogenize the regions that exist. The Serbs, Croats, and Muslims would withdraw from the regions where they are in the minority. That model with the Army should be applied everywhere in B-H until a political solution is found.

[Stitkovac] The map of B-H on which the ethnic cantons are shown as seen by the SDS has provoked the most debate in recent days. According to it, more than half of the total territory belongs to the Serbs, even where they do not represent a majority of the population. Is that something fixed, or a trial balloon?

[Karadzic] Judging by the way the government operates, this is something fixed. We know precisely the dimensions of Croatian B-H, Serbian B-H, and Muslim B-H. Those are those regions and territories which have been given complete ethnic definitions, and there are no problems here at all. You will note that in central Bosnia around Zenica, and then in Western Hercegovina and Bosnian Krajina, Eastern Hercegovina, or Semberija there are no problems at all, because it is clear that those are territories of one of those three nationalities. The map faithfully reflects the territorial distribution of the three nationalities. Our Serbian B-H, as shown on that map, which is subject to agreement and haggling, includes about 87 percent of the Serbs, when the Serbian section of Sarajevo is included. In that (Serbian) B-H, Croats would represent only 6 percent and Muslims only 22 percent; that is, 18 percent of the Muslims would remain outside the Muslim B-H, just as 12 percent of the Serbs would remain outside the Serbian B-H. By means of these maps, we would see to it that the immense majority of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats would not be an ethnic minority.

[Stitkovac] Do the Muslims and Croats have their maps?

[Karadzic] Of course, the Muslims and Croats have their own maps. They have had them for a long time, and we know about that. Theirs probably look somewhat different. That will make the job easier, because then we will be able to reconcile them. We feel that the guiding principle must be ethnic, there must be a vote taken in these areas, although the geographic principle must also be represented in that they must all border on a river or a road.

[Stitkovac] Mr. Kutiljero has rejected your map? Incidentally, how much faith do you put in the good intentions of the EC?

[Karadzic] When it comes to Yugoslavia, I do not believe in the good intentions of the EC. We have been witnesses that it is both selfish and brutal, of course, because of the admixture of the German position. Nevertheless, as for the conduct of the Conference on B-H, we have only nice things to say about Kutiljero and his team. We feel that they are working hard to understand the problem, and up to now they have not imposed their own solutions. It is not true that our map has been rejected, because it has

not even come up for adoption, but we have only displayed it for information purpose.

In This Phase, We Do Not Need Serbia

[Stitkovac] The Assembly of the Serbian Nationality in B-H rejected the "Brussels document." Is there even any point in more negotiations after rejection of that proposal?

[Karadzic] Of course there is. The Assembly of the Serbian Nationality encouraged the conference, but it rejected the document because the powers of the ethnic states are insufficient and inadequate. That is, it is worth talking, and we know exactly what to discuss—the level of authority and powers at those levels. We cannot accept losing the state of Yugoslavia and not getting our own state in B-H. Either we will remain in Yugoslavia or in B-H we will get our own sovereign state which will establish an alliance of states or confederation with the other two B-H's.

[Stitkovac] Some of the Serbian politicians have issued shocking statements such as the proposal to the Serbs that they commit collective suicide, that they all go off to an island, and so on.

[Karadzic] That was in any case some allegory, metaphor, or some other figure of speech. It is a fact, however, that it would amount to collective suicide to accept Alija's B-H in which he would have the central power and would be the boss. No Serb is going to accept Alija's state.

[Stitkovac] Let us go back briefly to certain earlier events. At the time of the barricades, you were in Belgrade, which is interpreted in various ways here. At the same time, how ready is Serbia to help the Serbs in B-H in every respect in view of the "opposition that is happening" more and more frequently in Serbia?

[Karadzic] We feel that the Serbian opposition will show its patriotic face more and more and will eliminate certain unpatriotic appearances. That will also make us breathe a bit easier. As far as Serbia itself is concerned, we want to stand aloof from that matter, because accusing Serbia has become the fashion in the world at large and in Europe. In this phase, at this moment, we do not need Serbia except when it comes to moral support. At this moment, we are sufficiently strong economically, politically, and in every respect to determine our own destiny in B-H on our own. Koljevic, Krajisnik, and I were as a matter of fact in Belgrade at that time, but we departed after the wedding guest was killed, which eloquently indicates that we did not know that the population would react. The interpretations of the media in B-H constitute an anthology of maliciousness and in any case contribute to widening the gap between the nationalities in B-H. The Serbian people has been insulted and humiliated in those periodicals. I am not speaking only of the Muslim newspapers such as VOX, MUSLIMANSKI GLAS, SLOBODNA BOSNA, but also about the joint periodicals at least a third of whose financing comes from the Serbs, such as OSLOBODJENJE and the Television. As for the Television, it is quite clear that it will be divided into three ethnic channels, and we will see what we will do with OSLOBODJENJE.

[Stitkovac] Here is another subject that is rather murky. One gets the impression that the SDS expected if not direct aid, at least some favorable inclination from the Army, especially at the time of the barricades.

[Karadzic] No! We did not count on the Army at all. I was in contact with the crisis command staff which successfully took over the leadership of the spontaneous rebellion and revolt of the people. The Army behaved precisely the way that it should behave and the way in which it should justify its presence in B-H, i.e., it is to be a factor for maintaining civil peace, that is, for preventing interethnic and interreligious conflict.

[Stitkovac] You constantly speak about a rebellion of the Serbian people over the murder of a Serbian wedding guest. Over the last few months, several Muslims and Croats have been killed, and there were no barricades, except in Kalesija, where two policemen of Muslim nationality were killed two or three days ago. Were the barricades set up on both sides?

[Karadzic] Murders that occur during incidents and accidents are one thing, certainly regrettable, but it is something quite different when a Serbian wedding party is assaulted. A large number of Serbs have also died during incidents and skirmishes, and the Serbs did not set up barricades either. As far as Kalesija is concerned, I am not familiar with the details, but I can say that it is not advisable for Muslim policemen to enter Serbian villages. The police are so divided that they cannot function as a single organism.

Arms Through Trade

[Stitkovac] Did it surprise you when it turned out that the Muslim population was also armed?

[Karadzic] That did not surprise us. We know quite well that the Muslim and Croatian communities are very well armed.

[Stitkovac] Probably just like the Serbian community?

[Karadzic] Of course, although the two of them armed before the Serbs did. The Serbian community also armed itself, and do not ask me through what channels, when I myself do not know, but I know that there has been trade even with the countries of the former Warsaw Pact and NATO. There has also been trade in arms between the two ethnic communities—the Serbs purchased surplus weapons from the Croats, which confirms the thesis that the people are armed. As for the Muslim ethnic community, it also has definite military structures. It does not bother me for anyone to have a weapon if he acquires it for defensive purposes. After we caught certain members of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] distributing

weapons, I told Izetbegovic that if the Muslims need weapons for defense against anyone, that the Serbs are ready to help them. If the Muslims are purchasing weapons to attack the Serbs, then it is going to go hard on them both.

[Stitkovac] During the most dramatic events in Sarajevo, the Croatian politicians were silent. Does that mean that they are the only ones that would profit in a possible conflict between Serbs and Muslims?

[Karadzic] It is hard to know what motivated their silence, but in any case they did not see that as their conflict, but as a conflict between Serbs and Muslims, which basically is what it was. It is a fact that we do not have many unresolved issues with the Croats in B-H. There are two or three points at which the ethnic areas of Serbs and Croats touch and where a certain tension prevails, but we are convinced that those outstanding issues can be resolved peaceably. On the other hand, the Serbs and Muslims are intermixed, which indicates that over the course of time they have put up with each other more easily or have gotten along better. Today, they cannot live together, but only alongside one another.

[Stitkovac] Forgive me, but the Serbian, Muslim, Croatian, and other nationalities do continue to live together, which refutes your opinion. Is it not obvious that only the politicians cannot live together?

[Karadzic] They are living together waiting for solutions, but no exclusive political tendency could be accepted. The patience of the people is encouraging, but that patience certainly counts on a solution in the offing. Otherwise, peace could not be maintained in B-H.

[Stitkovac] Mr. Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian Nationality in B-H, once told me that peoples are much wiser than their leaders.

[Karadzic] That may be so. In general, if they are true leaders and if they are interpreting the real endeavors of their peoples, they are a pure concentrate of those efforts. That is why sometimes they appear to be more extreme than their people. However, as far as the Serbian Democratic Party is concerned, I can say that there is a great danger of our people becoming more extreme than the leaders.

[Box, p 7]

A Pleasant Man

[Stitkovac] One gets the impression that Mr. Izetbegovic irritates you and sometimes upsets you, as you have put it.

[Karadzic] All of our private contacts have been very comfortable, almost pleasant, and as far as that goes, he does not irritate me at all. However, it is a quite different matter when it comes to official business. He particularly irritates me when we arrive at something and he minimizes it in public and diminishes it as though he is afraid of something. It is only in that sense that he irritates me. Otherwise, privately I find him to be a pleasant man.

[Box, p 7]

Mixed Feelings

[Stitkovac] Are you an optimist with respect to the outcome of the negotiations?

[Karadzic] My feelings in that regard are rather mixed. On the one hand, I am an optimist, because it seems to me that what has been proposed is completely acceptable to all three nationalities. Because what we have proposed represents a gain for the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. After all, they are getting their sovereign state unit and are equally losing any opportunity to dominate others. Whoever does not accept must admit that he wants to dominate.

Leaders Examine EC Involvement in Republic

92BA0680B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 92 pp 11-14

[Interviews with Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Muhamed Cengic, deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Ivan Markesic, general secretary of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Velizar Zecevic, Uros Komlenovic, and Lidija Soldo, NIN reporters in Brussels on Monday, 9 March: "Bosnia Does Not Trust Brussels"]

[Text] It was not possible these past several days to find the leading officials of the leading B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] parties in Sarajevo. Nor in Bosnia. The troubles in B-H, the political tensions, and interethnic tug-of-war occurred last weekend, and on Monday they were sitting at a table, and the table was in Brussels. They were looking for a formula that would disentangle the crisis in B-H.

[NIN] Your comment on the negotiations and on the influence of the EC on resolving the B-H crisis.

[Krajisnik] Instead of playing the role of a conciliator and helper, the European Community is becoming one of the principals in the talks to resolve the B-H crisis—it is sitting in judgment. We have asked for a clear statement of what the interest of the EC is, what it expects from these talks. It is my opinion that the EC is continuing its concept of breaking up Yugoslavia, of declaring B-H independent, accompanied by certain concessions to the Serbian people, which, at least so it is hoped, would satisfy it enough to consent to an independent B-H.

[Cengic] I must confess that up to now the negotiations concerning Bosnia and Hercegovina, that is, its internal organization, have surprised me. First of all, because they are being conducted outside the official institutions of B-H: the government and the Assembly. The representatives of the parties are agreeing on something that

need not be accepted either in the parliament or in the government. It would be normal for those issues to be resolved legally and legitimately by the elected representatives of the people. Otherwise, there could be a case in which the heads of the parties agree on something and are then removed, as in the case of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], when Kljuic began the negotiations, and now they are being conducted by a new team. As far as Europe is concerned, instead of helping us to build the most democratic possible society, Europe is offering us good services to take Bosnia apart regardless of economic flows. Regardless of the interests of the citizens. A Bosnia that has been torn apart cannot exist. All the states that have come into being from the breakup of Yugoslavia are having great difficulties. And now when we were unable to save Yugoslavia, instead of at least saving Bosnia, instead of trying some new associations and convergence, we are moving further and further apart. I think that the interests of the party leaders are behind all of that—they want to be untouchable, and so they are even ready to sacrifice their own people in order to preserve their positions.

[Markesic] In these Balkans, someone from outside has always been determining our destiny. That happened to us not only in the case of the creation of Yugoslavia in 1918 and 1945, but also today in the dismemberment and in the definition of some future system.

As for the negotiations (Sarajevo, Lisbon, Sarajevo, Brussels), we are too much subject to an inferiority complex. We go off looking for some intelligence after the fact in people who have no knowledge at all of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and we thereby expose ourselves to excessive risk. It is our own homeland, and we should negotiate about it here. The European politicians who have been coming here only in order to get to know their hotel rooms have been compelled to determine the future and the constitutional solution, and, I would dare to say, to determine even the borders of the opcinas in which we would have to live in the future.

[NIN] Are you satisfied with the Lisbon agreement: an integral and sovereign B-H reorganized on the principles of ethnic cantonization, that is, do you favor a confederal or federal organizational principle?

[Krajisnik] We have found that there is a conflict among the three nationalities, not only among the parties. It has been confirmed that the ethnic regions should be marked off, but there is no agreement on B-H as a complex state community. Such a community presupposes decentralization of economic and political power. Should there be only an administrative demarcation, which would mean that economic and political power would remain concentrated in the hands of the "center," that would be a unitary state. Centralistic authority suits the Democratic Action Party [SDA], because it wishes to use it to bring about domination over the areas where the Serbs and Croats live. A unitary B-H with a strong central government is unrealistic, because even now it does not have authority over a major portion of its territory.

[Cengic] Not only am I not satisfied with the Lisbon formulation, it is, in my opinion, a pure utopia.

[Markesic] The HDZ decided at a meeting in Livno that B-H should be entire and that the nationalities should live within their ethnic areas, that is, in cantons. That was only a proposal to get work started on the future arrangement of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

In my personal opinion, it is impossible to divide B-H into any kind of cantons. Only the Croats would lose in a division of B-H, because they live in a very restricted area which is ethnically pure—western Hercegovina and a part of northern Bosnia. Because the Serbs and Croats do not live so intermixed, we will easily agree, because the Serbs are also offering that. The division with the Muslims is more difficult. According to the recent population censuses, Travnik, Mostar, Capljina, and Stolac, for example, could not belong to the Croats regardless of the historical establishment of the Croats in that region, because today the Muslim population is in the majority.

I personally am in favor of B-H being a sovereign state in which each nationality would be sovereign throughout its entire area. I would not accept having any nationality being an ethnic minority in any part of B-H. I have said publicly in Zagreb that no one has the right to extend the sovereignty of the Croat people in any smaller area within B-H. We have deserved to be a nationality everywhere in B-H, not an ethnic minority. The same applies to the Serbs and Muslims wherever they are in smaller numbers than the others.

In the ethnic regions, which would not constitute an absolute division of power, but would be determined by the basic history and basic population census, and also by basic elections, a policy ought to be conducted that is more suitable to the Croatian milieu.

[NIN] If the borders between the cantons are precisely defined, where will those people who find themselves in a minority in their territory exercise their civil rights?

[Krajisnik] We feel it is essential that there be clearly defined regions of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats, but that the borders between the administrative units (cantons) need not be firmly defined. The rights of those in Europe who end up as a minority will be worked out in the customary way.

[Cengic] There is a danger of majority rule in those cantons. The minority nationalities will not have any rights at all there, nor will members of the majority nationalities. The parties will take everything in their own hands and adopt regulations and laws which will suit only the ruling circles.

[Markesic] I would not like to think along those lines about that issue. But if it does come to that, then the principle of reciprocity should be applied. It is easy to say, for example, that a Croat in the Muslim canton has such-and-such cultural and other rights, but what happens if a Croat dies there? If a person is not secure in the

canton of another nationality, does that mean seeking a head for a head, an eye for an eye? We must get beyond that so that we are all secure everywhere. Who is going to guarantee that? Strict parity in the government: In the courts, in police, and so on, the principle should be applied of one, one, one.

[NIN] In what does sovereignty reside: in the people or in the territory? There is obviously a disagreement about that.

[Krajisnik] Mr. Izetbegovic has tried to pass over from the sovereignty of the nationality to the sovereignty of the citizen. That is unacceptable to the Serbian nationality. The nationality is sovereign in the territories where it lives. In basing his policy on the conflict between Serbs and Croats, Izetbegovic wants to have sovereign rule over the next 10 years, as long as it takes the Muslims in B-H to become an absolute majority (51 percent). That is why he is insisting on the sovereignty of the citizen.

[Cengic] This is not clear even to those who are negotiating. If the citizen is sovereign, if democratic principles and a mechanism for protection of human rights are introduced, then the individual is sovereign. Accordingly, I doubt it is possible to carry out that kind of cantonization, but even if it comes to that, I am convinced that a large number of people will move out of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Markesic] For me, the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina is sovereign, and there are three nationalities in it. It is impossible to define a sovereign territory as a canton. It cannot be accepted, for example, that in Bosanski Brod there be a Serbian opstina that would come under the jurisdiction of Banjaluka, and Banjaluka to Belgrade, or that in an enclave of Croats in the vicinity of Sarajevo, Mostar or Zagreb might be the higher level of power.

[NIN] Do you take for granted the possibility of a subsequent self-determination of ethnic units, and to what level?

[Krajisnik] The future Constitution of Bosnia and Hercegovina must specify that the right to self-determination and secession of the administrative unit may not be realized without consent of all three constituent nationalities.

[Cengic] That is not clear to anyone. Self-determination under the conditions of B-H means absolute majority rule. In a small community, it is difficult to develop democratic relations, because the influence of the individual is immense, and it will be still greater, especially if the conception of separate police, separate armies-...goes through. Whoever holds the police will be the boss, the pasha, the prince in his own bailiwick. The citizens of B-H must not allow that to happen to them toward the end of the 20th century.

[Markesic] That is the gist of the matter. If a sovereign canton, say, Bosanska Krajina, has its own independent assembly, which is making decisions on its own association and disassociation on the basis of the powers of the state, then it can say that it is joining Serbia: In that case, what would happen to the Serbs in the other parts of B-H? They could only move out, to follow their own, but any forced migration is today a crime. That would be a degradation of the Serbs by the Serbs. In Turkish times, people converted to Islam just so they would not have to abandon their homes.

[NIN] How do you imagine an independent B-H: from the economic, military, and political standpoints?

[Krajisnik] I cannot even imagine it. Bosnia and Hercegovina is the most independent in Yugoslavia. The inevitable demarcation of the ethnic communities does not preclude the possibility of linkage and association with the other republics, which B-H cannot do without.

[Cengic] I have been an advocate of preserving the democratic Yugoslav community. It will be very difficult for any new state from the economic standpoint, especially Bosnia-Hercegovina, because its neighbors are Croatia and Serbia, and it will depend on the goodwill of those states, because of possible blockades of flows of goods, capital, services. For that matter, this has already happened to us when the barriers were raised on the Drina, the Sava, and the Una. However, this does not mean that Bosnia must fall to its knees and say: "Help, let us join someone." Every state must have an army, especially Bosnia, because the people have many weapons, and someone will have to protect the citizens from armed bands which will form in every region and in all the nationalities.

[NIN] Do you think it is possible to form a multinational army in B-H?

[Cengic] We must if we want to live together, and the people want that. The citizens do not want Bosnia to be divided on an ethnic basis.

[Markesic] B-H must be sovereign and independent just as much as Serbia and Croatia. Those two states are not so compact in the ethnic or any other respect so that they might differ from B-H. Bosnia was a separate unit in the time of Austro-Hungary.

[NIN] Does an open B-H presuppose removal of borders with neighboring states (a "truncated" Yugoslavia and Croatia), and how will this function from the monetary standpoint?

[Krajisnik] Relations with Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia must be such as to satisfy the interests of the Croats and Serbs in Bosnia and Hercegovina. There are, of course, no reasons to impose such a will on the Muslim people, it must decide itself.

[Cengic] We have to make relations in which borders with Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro would not be noticeable at all, as is customary in Europe. Because it is in the interest of all of us to have good relations with our neighbors.

[Markesic] The very way of life would determine that. So much of that is interwoven that it is impossible to cut it up like that. Economic and family relations will have an impact, so that the flow of goods and capital will be normal. B-H, just like the others, should be open to foreign capital.

[NIN] Will the Serbs and Croats be able to realize the claims they have to dual nationality (of B-H and of their parent state)?

[Krajisnik] We have consented to an integral B-H in order to preserve the peace, so as not to be threatened as a republic. An open B-H could only be one in which the Serbian people would realize its own independence.

[Cengic] There were proposals in Brussels that Bosnia have three currencies. That is incomprehensible. We will have terrible difficulties if Bosnia introduces its own currency, and again we must somehow protect our own economy. Topcider is generating horrible inflation, and we have no possibility of influencing that. The experts are already doing detailed studies of this, and everything being done is being done publicly.

[Markesic] B-H should have everything that Serbia and Croatia have. I think that a Bosnian currency has already been prepared, the army will also be Bosnian.

I think that borders must exist. Croatia has already established control at 75 percent of the border crossings with B-H: You have to have a passport, there are customs and inspections. If the Serbs and Croats do not want to be foreigners in the states to which they belong as a nationality, that can be achieved by dual nationality. This does not mean negation of the third nationality here, which would have to have a passport. Intelligent people can always find a way for normal relations among these former Yugoslav republics. If anyone in B-H wants to send his child to school in Croatia or Serbia, thanks to dual nationality they would not be able to tell him that he is a foreigner just like any other foreigner.

[NIN] Is there a realistic possibility of a coalition of two nationalities against a third, and of that becoming the rule of political life in a federal (confederal) B-H?

[Krajisnik] The Serbian nationality is strong enough and has no need to enter into a coalition against a third nationality. I am proud of that, because only the weak form coalitions. The coalition of the HDZ and SDA against the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] brought nothing. The Declaration, the Memorandum, the pledge to the independence of B-H, the referendum...have failed.

[Cengic] Coalitions are possible only between party leaderships, in all combinations. The nationalities will not enter into coalitions, because they do not want to be against anyone.

[NIN] Nevertheless, in the elections people have voted in large numbers for their own ethnic parties, and one gets the impression that homogenization is on the increase.

[Cengic] I do not agree with that. Citizens voted for the ethnic parties at a time when it was important to get free of the totalitarian communist system, but aside from that the feelings in the election campaign were different from what is happening now. Citizens have realized that these divisions lead nowhere, and I think that in the next elections the ethnic parties will do much less well.

[Markesic] I think that those coalitions of the people have not existed. Nor will they exist as soon as all three nationalities realize that B-H is their homeland.

There has been talk about a coalition of the Muslims and Croats. All of a sudden it occurred as though it were some change of direction, and they said that a coalition had been created between the HDZ and SDS concerning the internal arrangement of B-H. If the cantonization on which the Serbs are insisting should occur, again the relation of one, one, one would be created.

I think that the ethnic parties will have a role to play for some time yet, but the time will also come when other parties are established within each of the nationalities. Only then will we be able to talk about democracy.

[NIN] Will the Serb and Croat ethnic parties inevitably come under the influence of the ruling circles in their parent republics?

[Krajisnik] There is exaggeration in blaming the SDS that it is dependent on the policy of the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] and the Republic of Serbia; and also probably when it comes to the relation between the HDZ and the Zagreb headquarters. We need help and suggestions from Serbia, but we are not blind operatives of their policy. For that matter, Milosevic does not even know about many of our actions in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

[Cengic] The parties can, but those who hold political office cannot. If it is a joint government, then we here cannot make decisions on dictate from Belgrade or Zagreb.

[Markesic] It depends which parties are in power. If democratic parties are in power, subject to elections, they will not have so much time to concern themselves with others. It is that concern about others that caused the war today.

[NIN] To what extent is the agreement in Graz, which has still remained unknown, an indicator of the endeavor of Serbia and Croatia to destroy the unity of B-H by means of a mutual treaty?

[Krajisnik] Every move of the SDS is seen as a threat. Mutual contacts of the Croat and Muslim side are considered normal, and just one contact of the SDS with the HDZ aroused such a debate, such a repulsion, that it

immediately had to be eliminated. These contacts are normal, and it is quite logical for us to communicate with one another.

[Cengic] I am surprised by the fact of the chief of a party (the SDS) talking to representatives of the HDZ from Croatia about resolving issues of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It would be far better for him to talk in Bosnia and seek a solution as to our life together.

[Markesic] I personally know nothing about the agreements and talks in Graz. If one is going to negotiate on behalf of some third person, one must have legitimacy. The HDZ of B-H did not take part in that, and I personally know about everything only from the newspapers.

[NIN] How is a civil state to be created if there is no civil society?

[Krajisnik] A civil republic is a great deception which sounds nice and which all the nationalities would sincerely like. However, those who are now advocating a civil republic would win elections with an ethnic program, and that is abnormal. The advocacy of a civil republic conceals a desire for an independent Islamic state.

[Cengic] If there is no citizen, we must create him. That is in fact the problem: that the citizen is not being allowed to emerge into the light of day.

[Markesic] Everyone would like to have a civil state and at the same time for it to remain an ethnic state. I have been talking about the regions which Bosnia should have. From the time of Kotromanic or Kulin ban that would have been a great state that would have extended into Serbia and Montenegro. That is a time which has passed, and we here must be aware that secularization of the nationality has not yet occurred. We still fall back on religion here as the basic determining feature, we still do not have an opportunity to promote ourselves as citizens of a state in which no one will ask you what nationality you are. A civil society has yet to be created, but I do not think that it will happen so quickly.

[NIN] If privatization is indispensable, what guarantee is there that it will be conducted on market principles and will be ethnically neutral? Will the economy that happens to be in the various cantons necessarily pass over into the hands of the majority nationality, under the influence of the group in power?

[Krajisnik] Privatization is certainly indispensable, but it is important here to emphasize that money must not be ethnically colored. There should be guaranteed protection of private property and the share of state ownership in the economy slowly diminished. That would frustrate any kind of discrimination and appropriation of the national wealth by the ethnic communities.

[Cengic] The economy would have to pass over into the hands of those people who live in that area, and not only the majority nationality or ruling circles in it. Plundering has begun in all areas: Masked men are taking money away from people, even land is being taken away. If this kind of policy continues, we are threatened with chaos.

[Markesic] And that is evidence of what I said awhile ago—that cantonization is impossible. The region in which the Serbs live, Bosanska Krajina, is large, but poor. The same applies to eastern Hercegovina and Romanija. Those people have been receiving pensions since World War II, and that is what they have been living on. It is mostly the Muslims that have moved into the concrete apartment houses in the valleys of the rivers, where they have been building socialism, thinking that they should be poor so that they can be equal. The only areas which have been rich are those where the Croats live. They have created everything with their own hands. They did not accept Partizanism, they have gone outside the country, they have earned money, they have built their houses and roads, and now they can live normally. In what way, then, would it be possible to make a division of the property in B-H?

[NIN] How do you conceive the destiny of the state-owned media under the new conditions?

[Krajisnik] There was debate about the media in Brussels, but there are certain proposals and suggestions. There cannot be a state monopoly over the media, nor a monopoly of any ethnic community. Power in the media should be taken away from the leadership in the Television and other news media and passed to the hands of the people.

[Cengic] The worst would be for the government to begin to dictate to the media, and especially for the ethnic parties to begin to do that. Newsmen are above nationality, and I believe they should remain so. The parties have been attacking the media, but I think the citizens are satisfied with them.

[Markesic] Whether cantonization occurs or not, B-H as a state must have its own television. Ethnic channels could be created on the basis of the present equipment, and there could also be private television stations. But state-owned television must extend over the territory of the entire state.

[NIN] Your comment on the "Sarajevo events," causes, consequences, and possibility of it recurring.

[Krajisnik] I am not an advocate of barricades, unrest, nor blockades in Sarajevo. But I am embittered because of the numerous statements of the official authorities and the SDA, which are trying to politicize an occurrence which inevitably occurred as a reflection of the erroneous policy of precisely those circles. There has not been a single ardent word of condemnation of an unprecedented crime (the brutal killing of a Serbian wedding guest and an attack on a Serbian flag), except those niggardly official ones. The people would not be the people if it did not resist that act. Because Bosnia is a powder keg, the Sarajevo events could recur, because this

was a spontaneous rebellion of the people. So that all this does not recur, we urgently need to find a political solution.

[Cengic] The barricades were most probably caused by the holding of the referendum and the murder in Bascarsija, which was like oil poured on the fire. I condemn most severely those who did this, they must be found and punished most severely. The murder, especially under such circumstances (a wedding), is a most grave crime. However, the barricades were organized, and in the end the SDS stood behind them, launching demands which are already familiar. The barricades were harmful to all the citizens of Sarajevo regardless of nationality. Although the barricades were set up by the Serbs, I think that even they did not feel safe. After all, in Sarajevo there are more Muslims, so that if it came to a situation of neighbor killing neighbor, then they would be the ones who would have more, and they would also have better chances of somehow surviving. This was a reckless precedent in the history of Sarajevo. It probably will not recur, because then the young people would rise up, the citizens would rise up to defend their city. If this nevertheless did recur, it would be a disaster.

[Markesic] The real purpose was to prevent the peace-keeping forces from coming to Sarajevo, to prove that this is a city of unrest, it was to be a reminder that this is where World War I started.

[NIN] The people already have too many weapons. How do you disarm people without anyone being tricked?

[Krajisnik] I knew that people were armed, but I was surprised by the quantity of weapons people have. I think that now it is impossible to disarm the population. Weapons will slowly be put by only after a solution of the B-H crisis.

[Cengic] That could be carried out only by a mixed multiethnic B-H army or police.

[Markesic] Local administrations could slowly disarm the people when the government of B-H is arranged and instituted. Those weapons will be located wherever they are and collected, and then they can again be distributed in case of need.

[NIN] An independent and sovereign state presupposes an expensive and large government apparatus. Can a Bosnia-Hercegovina that is on a lean diet and barefoot support all of that financially?

[Krajisnik] We have to get rid of the idea of an independent B-H. It may be given international verification, but without the Serbian people, its operation is unthinkable. The apparatus of the state, assuming that a complex state community is brought about, would have to be as small as possible, and a goodly portion of its powers passed over to the ethnic communities.

[Cengic] Bosnia will not be able to support a government administration at the level Yugoslavia had. I favor organizing joint diplomatic services for the states that came about after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. I think the solution lies in that state which has the greatest influence opening an embassy and then the others would attach their delegations to it.

[Markesic] I think that B-H can support the financing of its own government apparatus. It has done that up to now and has participated fully in the financing of the federal administration in which it had the fewest people.

Croatia

Japan Recognizes Republic's Independence

LD2703192592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Today in Tokyo, Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe handed Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic the original of the document with which the Japanese Government recognizes the independence of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted] Minister Separovic handed Minister Watanabe a note which proposes the establishment of diplomatic relations at the embassy level. [pasage omitted: further details of meeting]

General Threatens Force Against JNA

LD2903180192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Conflicts on an even greater scale than what we have been witnessing these days are possible in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Corps General Martin Spegelj said in an interview for today's NEDELJNI VJESNIK. "However, according to objective evaluations, the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina can end only in a new defeat for the remnants of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army and its aggression on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina." Asked about the arrival of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], Spegelj stressed that "Croatia has great faith in the UN operation," and that "many questions will be dealt with as they arise."

Even though some temporary adjustments are possible because of the presence of the peace-keeping forces, we are absolutely determined to attain our goal of a republic of Croatia within its 1945 and 1974 borders, Spegelj maintained.

"If the Yugoslav army does not withdraw under the agreed deadline from the territories where the UNPROFOR will be deployed, I must reiterate that they will leave these territories by the deadline either of their own will, which will be useful for both sides, or by force, which will be a disaster for them and will unfotunately demand new but inevitable sacrifices from us," Spegelj said.

Asked if it is possible to achieve peace with the help of buffer zones, Spegelj replied: "With buffer zones along the lines between warring sides, it is not possible to achieve peace."

"The battlefront is on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and we have no intention of waiting forever for the liberation of our country, all the more so when one takes into account all that the aggressor has recently been doing to us," Spegelj said.

JNA's Knin Corps Moves to Titov Drvar

LD2903193292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] As we have learned in Titov Drvar, everything is ready for the arrival of the Yugoslav Army Knin Corps which is to move from Knin to Titov Drvar, a town chosen as their new headquarters. Buildings have been selected and space has been prepared for the accommodation of the Knin Corps. The first army convoy is expected to arrive in Titov Drvar on 1 April, and the move should be completed by 20 April. The 11th motorized brigade moved here from Sibenik some time ago.

Slovania, Baranja, W. Srem Mark State Border

LD2903071392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Erdut, 28 Mar (TANJUG)—Signs marked the Republic of Serbian Krajina-the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem will be placed at border crossings between Slavonia and Baranja and Croatia. Banners of this Serbian republic will fly at all border crossings.

This is the latest decision by the government of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, which has been trying to improve its organization in order to effectively carry out specific tasks which the local authorities are faced with ahead of the arrival of blue helmets.

Rade Leskovac, deputy information minister of this Serbian region, informed journalists today that the government has also decided to change the name of the Bratsvo Jedinstvo Bridge in Bogojevo to the Bridge of Serbian Volunteers.

Leskovac stressed a decision of the government of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem regarding the fact that the Serbian people from this region may in the future be represented only by those who live locally and who share the fate of the Serbs in this part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. That, however, does not mean that assistance by people from other regions is unwelcome. To the contrary, it is welcome and the Serbian people of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem will know how to appreciate such assistance and support for their battle for independence and free life on territories where they have lived for centuries, Rade Leskovac said, commenting on the latest government decisions.

Macedonia

Gligorov Signs JNA Withdrawal Document

LD2703163292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, Mar 27 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov and commander of the third district of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Lieutenant General Nikola Uzelac signed here today the final document on the takeover of military facilities and equipment by Macedonia, which marks the withdrawal of the JNA from this republic. President Gligorov told the press that the territory and boundaries of the Republic of Macedonia would be under control of the Macedonian army as of today. Gligorov also said that, generally, the takeover and withdrawal of the JNA from Macedonia proceeded on in a civilized way. General Uzelac said that the whole process was carried out without any problems or incidents and that no-one had been hurt in any way. Everything was done in calmly, in line with JNA orientations, he said. General Uzelac reproached the Macedonian media for its incorrect coverage of the JNA withdrawal from Macedonia. JNA units from Macedonia have been redeployed after this republic demanded recognition of its sovereignty from the European Community (E.C.) and announced it would form its own army.

Party of Yugoslavs Chairman Relieved of Post

LD2903190592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Summary] Skopje, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The main committee of the Party of Yugoslavs of Macedonia [Stranka Jugoslovena u Makedoniji] today recalled the chairman of the party, Slobodan Ivanovski. Vice Chairman Vojislav Karastojanovski will hold the position of acting chairman until the party's next assembly.

Serbia

Foreign Minister Assesses U.S. Visit, Policy

LD2903201592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic stated today, on his return from Washington, that his visit to the United States contributed to better understanding of the policies and motives of the other side. He expressed hope that "the practical, political result" of his talks with high-ranking White House officials and the State Department would be that "we shall in the future approach each other with much more trust and understanding."

The Serbian foreign minister said he expected the United States to extend recognition to all four Yugoslav republics and that at the moment there were no specific plans for a new Serbian-American top- level meeting.

Jovanovic stressed that his talks with David Gompert, special assistant to the President for national security affairs, with Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and other officials indicated that "America has not yet assumed any stance" as regards recognition of Serbia's and Montenegro's desire to inherit the state and international legal continuity of Yugoslavia.

"The stance is, in any case, well-intentioned and principled," Jovanovic added. "The American side wishes to be exhaustively informed by legal experts on their view on all complexities of these issues and afterwards to coordinate its stand with the European twelve as much as possible in accordance with the last agreement with the European Community. The fact is that the American side has observed the normal practice in international relations in dealing with similar cases and that the modalities, which were applied in earlier cases, in previous decades, to clarify similar cases, will be one of the key elements in the process of assuming a political stance by the United States in this case."

"We used this opportunity," the Serbian foreign minister said, "to explain to our American friends that we do not hold that succession, state continuity, the international legal political identity of Yugoslavia is the same as division balance, i.e. financial rights and obligations including debts, but is instead the exclusive right of those Yugoslav nations and republics who are devoted to their country and determined to continue to live in it together, under the name of that country and the banner of that country, to continue enjoying advantages of the position of that country within international organizations and to take over all rights and obligations that the country, i.e. Yugoslavia, took over on the basis of a huge number of international contracts, conventions and other international documents. That explanation was by all means very useful because it dispelled any doubt that a reformed Yugoslavia would have some bad intentions or some materially egoistic aims."

As regards an American announcement that the United States would recognize the four Yugoslav republics, Jovanovic said that his American collocutors had explained that they "cannot lag behind their European allies when it comes to acceptance and recognition of the real state of affairs in Yugoslavia." But, according to him, American officials did not say precisely when or which republics Washington may recognize. However, "the American message is clear and nobody should be surprised" if in a week or two or in a month's time the United States recognizes one or more republics.

However, Jovanovic added, he did not expect that all four republics would gain recognition at the same time. Asked if Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic could visit the United States soon, he said that such a conclusion could be arrived at from a joint view presented in the Washington talks that such a visit would be of great benefit and also from joint regret expressed in the talks that a top-level meeting between Serbia and the United States had not yet taken place. He added that for the moment there were no specific plans and agreements in this regard.

'Helsinki Watch' Allegations Rejected

LD2803234592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0848 GMT 28 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 28 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia rejected as unfounded the charges of a U.S. organization for human rights, "The Helsinki Watch", that Serbia is responsible for violating regulations prescribed by the law of war and humanitarian law in the clashes in the secessionist Republic of Croatia.

In a reply to a recent report made by "The Helinki Watch" conveyed to TANJUG, the Serbian government pointed out a number of arbitrary political qualifications made in the report, as well as unverified conclusions lacking descriptions of the events and factual grounds.

Rejecting the charge of responsibility for the violation of the law of war and humanitarian law, the Serbian government recalled that Serbia did not take part in the armed clashes and that "war operations in Croatia were conducted by the regular Yugoslav Army and local Serbian population on whom war was imposed on the part of the Croatian secessionist authorities."

The reply underscored that the Serbian government "did not in any way organize volunteer units in its own territory and particularly not in the territory of Croatia and added that Serbia, since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, was against the creation of party and national armies. The government of Serbia also recalled that in this Yugoslav republic no republican army has been constituted to this day. Assessing that most of the allegations in the report are without basic data, lacking the names or at least the initials of the witnesses as well as lacking the time of the events, the Serbian government wondered how the Helsinki Watch proved the claim that "Serbian rebel forces are responsible for the execution of at least 200 civilians and disarmed soldiers."

Underscoring that the report contains "inadmissible and already proven untruths", the Serbian government cited that the Croatian authorities themselves admitted that all 173 patients were handed over, which is the number found in the hospital in the Eastern Slavonian city of Vukovar, and not, as claimed by the Helsinki Watch report, only "128 out of 400 patients."

The Serbian government reply cited that there were more concrete examples which dispute the data cited in the Helsinki Watch report. The Serbian government also rejected as unfounded the claims that ethnic Hungarians in the Serbian Province of Vojvodina are allegedly imperiled. Around 350,000 members of the Hungarian national minority live among Vojvodina's two million population.

Assessing that the minority rights of Hungarians in Vojvodina and in Serbia are above international standards, the government cited that members of this national minority equally use their language and alphabet and that over 25,000 pupils in elementary schools and 2,000 students attend classes in the Hungarian language. It is further cited that there are over 20 pages and magazines in [words indistinct] Vojvodina, that television Novi Sad and 13 radio stations broadcast 24-hour programs in this language and that Hungarians are present in the political life of Serbia through two political organizations.

The Serbian government underscored that one part of the Hungarian national minority in Serbia "wishes to place itself at the service of an unacceptable policy of its mother country in terms of the territory of Yugoslavia and that of Serbia."

Officials in Budapest on several occasions since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, under the guise of concern for the position of the Hungarian minority in Serbia, expressed territorial claims on Vojvodina. Following comments regarding alleged discrimination of "thousands of ethnic Albanians in Serbia," the Serbian government indicated that the problems with the Albanian minority in the other Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija "is not a result of the non-recognition of the rights of minorities, according to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) standards, but is a result of their abuse and systematic rejection to be used."

"The goal of such anti-constitutional behaviour is for Albanians, as a national minority, to present themselves as victims of alleged discrimination and persecution on the part of Serbia in order to gain foreign sympathy for secessionism from this republic," the Serbian government sets out in its reply.

At the same time, the government [words indistinct] Republic of Kosovo on the part of the Albanian minority is in no way mentioned in the report although this represents, as set out, "an inadmissible example of the abuse of minority rights for achieving secessionist goals."

The Serbian government's reply to the Helsinki Watch cited that the Albanian national minority has in its own language 24 newspapers or magazines, a television and radio program, classes ranging from elementary school to university level, national theaters, libraries as well as some ten or so national political parties. Recalling that over the past 15 years ethnic Albanians occupied the highest state functions in the Yugosiav Federation, including the posts of Yugoslav presidency president, president of the Yugoslav parliament (on two occasions), the Serbian government concluded that this clearly illustrates that the Albanian national minority has rights which surpass the usual international standards.

SDS Sends Protest to Polish Embassy

LD2703201492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Serbia sent a protest letter to the Polish Embassy in connection with the statement by Polish Deputy Defense Minister Romuald Szermietiew that "the Polish blue helmets in Yugoslavia" should "increase the self-confidence of the Hungarians." The letter demands clarification of the motives for such behavior on the part of this high Polish Government official. The SDS also demands that the SFRY Presidency inform the UN secretary general about this "irresponsible statement" and that the Polish contingent be banned from coming to Yugoslavia, the statement by the SDS executive committee says.

Renaissance Movement Seeks Limits on JNA

LD2903174992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Because of the signed capitulation and the agreement on leaving Slovenia, Croatia, and now Macedonia, it is necessary to limit the authority of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in Serbia, barrister Milenko Radic, secretary general of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, stresses today in a letter to the Serbian government.

The letter to the government says that the Serbian citizens annually earmark 2 billion American dollars for the needs of the JNA, while the JNA is not capable of fulfilling its basic constitutional obligation. This is 20 times more than the amount earmarked for the development of Serbia and the restructuring of its economy. There are grounds for suspicion that this money is being spent without the control of citizens or relevant republican offices, in which Ivan Gosnjak, Nikola Ljubicic, Branko Mamula and Veljko Kadijevic have so far been involved, Radic notes.

On behalf of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, barrister Radic asks the Serbian government to annul the law on financing the JNA, to prevent further stealing of the property of Serbian citizens, to stop the implementation of decrees which regulate the functioning of military courts, prosecution, spending the JNA's money, and building and disposing of military apartments.

Kosovo Albanians Opt for European Integration

LD2803210392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Pristina, Mar 27 (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK), a party rallying ethnic Albanians in the Province of Kosovo, which is part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, today announced that Kosovo Albanians would opt for an integration similar to the European integration processes.

Speaking at a press conference here, Rugova said that Albania had the right to protect ethnic Albanians and their interests in "former" Yugoslavia. Following the victory of the Democratic Party in Albania's recent elections, its leader Sali Berisha said in an interview to the Brussels daily LA LIBRE BELGIQUE that Kosovo should be recognized as a republic and that ethnic Albanians should be granted the status of a nation with the right to self-determination. Rugova said that the United States and the European Community would be requested to recognize Kosovo. He reiterated the demand for the arrival of blue helmets or European observers in Kosovo and again invited acting Yugoslav Defence Minister General Blagoje Adzic to negotiate the Army's withdrawal from Kosovo.

Asked by journalists about the succession to Yugoslavia, Rugova said that Kosovo had been a part of the federation and that it would demand its share in the division of property. Almost during the entire post-war period, Kosovo has been ruling considerable financial and other assistance as an undeveloped region, mostly from its parent Republic of Serbia. Political parties which rally ethnic Albanians—who make up a majority population in Kosovo but have the status of ethnic minority in Yugoslavia—advocate Kosovo's becoming a republic, its secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia, and joining to Albania. Under the Yugoslav Constitution, only [word indistinct] peoples are entitled to have a republic, in difference to ethnic minorities, such as ethnic Albanians.

Slovenia

Next Vote of No Confidence Scheduled for 8 Apr

AU2703175292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] The meeting between the center coalition and Dr. Janez Drnovsek, president of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDS], about the candidate for new premier designate who would be put forward jointly at the constructive no-confidence vote on Peterle's cabinet, ended without an agreement. Janez Drnovsek is still insisting on his candidature for prime minister-designate, and so is [Minister of Internal Affairs] Igor Bavcar in the name of the center coalition.

Today's meeting was supposed to bring their stands closer through offers by both sides and result in an agreement on a joint candidate. As our reporter, Vojko Brvar, reports, this did not happen. Some of the meeting's participants believe that Drnovsek's willingness yesterday to make new compromises was today effected by the public opinion research by Varianta that was published today. This report attributes great popularity to Dr. Drnovsek as a possible new premier-designate.

A representative of the center coalition is supposed to talk with Ciril Ribicic, president of the Party of Social Democratic Reform, today. This party will not be offered any of the ministers' seats, of course, but only an agreement on certain issues. The Slovene People's Party firmly dismissed the possibility of an agreement with the center coalition. There will be no further talks with this party in the days to come. The so-called Four-Plus-One coalition will again meet the LDS representatives on 30 March. The final decision must be made by 8 April, when the Assembly will take a constructive vote of no confidence in Peterle's cabinet.

It is known that the LDS has not filed the proposal to vote on Drnovsek as a possible premier-designate yet. For the time being, the only proposal for candidate for new premier-designate received by Assembly President Dr. France Bucar is the one for Igor Bavcar. However, we learned just before this newscast that the LDS itself has filed a request for a constructive vote of no confidence in the government.